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PLUTARCH'S GREEK LIVES

VOL. II.

CIMON AND PERICLES

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PLUTARCH'S

CIMON AND PERICLES

WITH THE FUNERAL ORATION OF PERICLES
(THUCYDIDES, ii, 35-46)

NEWLY TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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E qui è uopo che ben si distingua.
DANTE, *Par.*, XI, 27.

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GENERAL

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TO

EDUARD MEYER

HISTORIAN OF ANTIQUITY

Plutarch ist ein stilistisch hervorragender, historisch urteilsloser, chronologisch unbekümmerter mann. also erfordern seine angaben eine sehr umsichtige exegese, deren aufgabe es ist, seine eigene verarbeitung zu beseitigen, um dann die ihm vorliegenden berichte zu verwerten. diese waren ganz ausgezeichnet.

Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii. p. 290.

PREFACE

CONTRARY to my expectations nine years have passed since the first volume in this series was published, "Plutarch's *Themistocles and Aristides.*" At that time four volumes were planned,—a *Cimon and Pericles*, a *Nicias and Alcibiades*, and a *Demosthenes and Alexander*, to follow the first. I must now be satisfied with the fifth century B.C., in this study of Greek history from the original sources by means of Plutarch, and omit the last volume, although I have made many studies and collected large material for it. The third volume, the *Nicias and Alcibiades*, I think can follow soon, if my sight is spared to me. There will then be accessible to students and teachers of Greek history, in popular form, material for the critical study of the greatest century in the history of Athens, arranged in connection with biographies, by the Prince of Biographers, of the six greatest Athenian statesmen of that century.

While my chief aim is now to interest and aid students and teachers of Greek history, I also seek to gratify and satisfy, so far as in me lies, the lover of Greek literature and of Plutarch. Such an one need not be distracted or offended by the critical analysis of the great biographer's ideal ethical portraits in search of trustworthy historical residuum. It is only the dearth of other testimony that drives the historical student to such treatment of a purely artistic product. No one could be more conscious than Plutarch was of the difference between artistic ethical portraiture and the writing of history. The first only he essayed, and in this field became the world's greatest master; the second he eschewed. "We must admire and love Plutarch for what he is, not rely upon

him or criticise him for what he is not and did not try to be."

This second volume is entirely independent of the first, as the third will be of the first and second. I have, however, allowed myself an occasional reference to the first volume, and should be glad to have the readers of the second know the chapters in the Introduction to the first on *Plutarch the Biographer*, and *Biography before Plutarch*. Still, such knowledge is not essential to the profitable use of the second.

As in the first volume, I am especially indebted in the second also to Busolt's *Gricchische Geschichte*, Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's *Aristoteles und Athen*, Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Alterthums* and *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, and Ivo Bruns' *Das literarische Portraet der Griechen*. I am also much indebted in the second volume to four essays in Eduard Meyer's *Kleine Schriften: Die wirtschaftliche Entwickelung des Altertums, Die Sklaverei im Altertum, The Development of Individuality in Ancient History*, and *Der Gang der alten Geschichte: Hellas und Rom*. I have also made some use of the Siefert-Blass and Sintenis-Fuhr annotated editions of Plutarch's *Pericles* in the Teubner and Haupt-Sauppe series, as well as of Holden's edition of this *Life* in the Cambridge Classical Series, and I have cited freely from Thucydides in Jowett's, and from Pausanias in Frazer's translations. An indispensable aid in the study of the *Pentecontaëtia* is Hill's *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*, Oxford, 1897.

I have naturally indulged in little criticism of the text, but, as in the *Themistocles and Aristides*, have noted any essential variation between the Sintenis and Bekker texts where one is preferred over the other, as well as any departure from both. The readings of the Codex Seitenstettensis for the *Pericles* are available in the editions above noted, and for the *Cimon* in the collations of Wolfgang Meyer (Leipsic, 1890). In translating from Thucydides the

Funeral Oration of Pericles, I have followed the text of Hude (ed. maj., 1898).

As I send this volume to the press, I think with gratitude and affection of the students at Yale with whom I studied in successive years the fascinating period of Greek history covered by the lives of Cimon and Pericles.

B. P.

New Haven, June, 1910.

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INTRODUCTION

I. PRIMARY SOURCES FOR GREEK HISTORY DURING THE *PENTECONTAËTIA*

Pentecontaëtia is a convenient, though slightly inaccurate name for the period between the battles of Platæa and Mycale (479 B. C.) and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431), — a period, in round numbers, of fifty years. If we include the first two years of the Peloponnesian War, which were the last two years in the life of Pericles, who died in the autumn of 429, the name will be exact enough. This period is almost exactly halved by the year 454, in which the transfer of the treasury of the Delian League from Delos to Athens marked the consummation of the Athenian Empire. As the Delian League, or Confederacy, was in large measure the creation and favorite instrument of Cimon, we may conveniently speak of the years 479-454 as the "Age of Cimon;" and for a like reason of the years 454–429 as the "Age of Pericles." Within the period covered by these two lives, and in the political community of which they were leaders, that great experiment in individual freedom under the reign of law was made for which our modern civilization is most indebted to the past. During the Age of Pericles "the political power of Athens culminated; the Athenians developed that civic life which, as sketched in the great oration attributed to Pericles by Thucydides, made Athens, as the orator says, the school of Greece, and, as we moderns might add, the teacher of posterity" (Jebb).

This period between the Persian invasions of Greece and the Peloponnesian War is not treated by any extant Greek writer who can serve us as a primary authority in the sense

in which Herodotus is a primary authority for the first and Thucydides for the second. In this period Athens rose to the greatness which brought on the Peloponnesian War, but only the more salient events of the period lingered at all in the memories of contemporary men, and the logical connection of these events became greatly obscured. Even Thucydides does not clear up this obscurity very much in the meagre annals of the period which he gives in the famous excursus of his first book (chaps. 89–118), which has come to be called his *Pentecontaëtia*. He felt the lack of proper materials for a history of the period. "I have gone out of my way," he says (i. 97, 2), "to speak of this period because the writers who have preceded me treat either of Hellenic affairs previous to the Persian invasion or of that invasion itself; the intervening portion of history has been omitted by all of them, with the exception of Hellanicus; and he, where he has touched upon it in his Attic History, is very brief, and inaccurate in his chronology." We should be glad to have this Attic History of Hellanicus, of which, so far as it dealt with the fifty-year period between the Persian invasion and the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides speaks so slightingly, but beyond a few fragments it is no longer in existence. It doubtless served as a primary source for later writers on Greek history than Thucydides, but we can only infer such use of it here and there, as we may also infer much greater indebtedness to it on the part of Thucydides than his depreciatory reference to it would imply. It was an *Atthis*, or chronicle of events by years of Athenian archonships, reckoning from summer to summer, and necessarily neglected the natural connection of successive events. But it was the only strictly historical work dealing with this period composed by one who was contemporary with the events. Thucydides wrote his excursus called the *Pentecontaëtia*, as well as the rest of his first book and much of the second, after the fall of Athens in 404, and he is an original authority, in the strictest sense, only for the Age of Pericles and the Peloponnesian War, but not for the Age of Cimon. Moreover,

even in the use of the chronicle of Hellanicus, Thucydides, as historian of the Peloponnesian War, reproduces only what he finds suited to his particular purpose in tracing the events which more or less directly led to that war. In the famous *Funeral Oration*, which he attributes to Pericles, we have, it is true, a general description of the life of Periclean Athens, which suggested to those who heard it, but not to us, the familiar details. "We moderns have to reconstruct that life as best we may, by piecing together scattered bits of evidence" (Jebb).

But there was no lack of authentic contemporary material for reconstructing the history of the *Pentecontaëtia*, and much of it, thanks to a persistent literary tradition which finds its most bountiful almoner in Plutarch, or to the labors of travellers and archæologists, is still, in some measure at least, accessible to us. There are the great monuments of imperial Athens, — her sacred edifices, "that which alone now testifies for Hellas," as Plutarch rather sadly says, "that her ancient power and splendor, of which so much is told, was no idle fiction." The great collection of Attic inscriptions abounds in authentic documents from this period, — decrees of the Athenian assembly, tribute and treasure lists, dedicatory inscriptions on monuments of victory, lists of citizens who have fallen in battle, treaties with allied or subject states. In his *Themistocles* (chap. xxi.), Plutarch has given us by his citations most of what we know about the poetry of Timocreon of Rhodes, a contemporary foe of Themistocles. In his *Cimon* (chap. iv.), he tells us practically all we can know about two poets contemporary with Cimon, Archelaus and Melanthius, who seem to have belonged to the retinue of the great warrior and to have composed poems in his honor, or for his solace, in which his exploits in love and war found place. Occasionally Attic tragedy, as in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, makes significant allusion to current events of this period. Far oftener it is Old Comedy which, after the middle of the century, indulges in grotesque allusions to the principal events and the leading men or prominent person-

alities of the time. In the citation of this material Plutarch is specially rich. In the *Pericles* he is actually led astray by it.

The increasing interest in the problems of personality which marks the second half of the fifth century B. C. manifests itself in the biographical tracts of Ion of Chios and Stesimbrotus, through whom, as cited by Plutarch, we get pen-portraits of Cimon and Pericles by men who had actually known them, and verbatim reports of their memorable sayings or great speeches. Through these witnesses we can listen to the genial Cimon's after-dinner stories, or to the great debate in the Athenian assembly between Pericles and Thucydides, son of Melesias, which decided once for all whether or not such ornaments of Athens as the Propylæa to her Acropolis should be built at the expense of her allies. It was as memorable a debate for Athenians as the great Webster-Haynes debate for Americans, or the recent debates on the Budget for Englishmen.

But our dominant impressions of Pericles must be derived from one who was contemporary with him, though younger; who had listened to him in the assembly and probably served under him in the army or navy; who studied and appreciated his great experiments in training an extreme democracy into imperial government as no man since that day has or can, and who lived to endure the ruin which the abandonment of his high ideals brought upon their common country, — from the greatest historian of ancient or modern times, Thucydides, son of Olorus. Writing amid the gloom which followed the humiliation of his native city, and after nearly twenty years of unmerited exile from that city, Thucydides puts upon the canvas of his history a portrait of Pericles which seems to have life and breath. In the reply to the Spartan ultimatum which is put into his mouth (i. 140–144), in the calm self-possession which he is made to show amid a populace excited to fury by the ravages of an invader at their very gates (ii. 21–22), in the Funeral Oration which he is made to pronounce over those who had fallen in the first year of the war

(ii. 35–46), in the steadfast defence of his conduct and policies which he is made to give when plague and disaster bring the wrath of the people down upon his innocent head (ii. 60–64), and finally in the stately eulogy of the dead leader (ii. 65), we find those testimonies to the lofty political ideals and majestic character of Pericles, made by a noble-minded political opponent, which must forever silence the voices of hatred and envy. Idealized the great portrait may be, and what great portrait is not? But we have every reason to believe it faithful too.

Bereft of its creative leader, the democracy of Athens swung into the wildest excesses, and became the tool of designing politicians. At its lowest ethical ebb, towards the close of the century, a nameless oligarch, less noble-minded than Thucydides, pictures it for us with sarcastic and relentless hand in a treatise on *The Constitution of Athens* which has been preserved for us among the writings of Xenophon. Amid its caustic descriptions of democratic excesses, there is, however, a repeated note of admiration for the wisdom of those who had made the democracy what it was. "I repeat," he says with some *hauteur* (iii. 1, Dakyns), "that my position concerning the polity of the Athenians is this: the type of polity is not to my taste, but given that a democratic form of government has been agreed upon, they do seem to me to go the right way to preserve the democracy by the adoption of the particular type which I have set forth."

Less noble-minded still was the oligarch who, at the close of the century, wrote the treatise on the history of Athens which Aristotle uses so extensively in his *Constitution of Athens*, and by using sanctions. He has nothing but contempt for democracy, and no conception of the greatness of the Age of Pericles, or of him from whom we name it so. Kindred in spirit, though much less narrow, judging from the scant glimpses vouchsafed to us, must have been the writings of Critias in prose and verse on political institutions, social customs and manners (*Cimon*, x. 5; xvi. 8). The narrow bigotry of these inveterate oligarchs makes the generosity of the

oligarchical Thucydides in his estimate of Pericles and his work all the more impressive.

Our chief literary authority, then, for the *Pentecontaëtia* is Thucydides. But he does not attempt a complete history of the period. His theme was the Peloponnesian War, and he sketches the rise of the Athenian Empire only as it was the occasion of this war. He says little if anything of the inner history of the city-state which managed the empire, nothing of Peloponnesus and the rest of Hellas, and even omits to mention many important matters in the external history of Athens, such as the peace with Persia called the "Peace of Callias," and the Pontic expedition of Pericles. But, incomplete as his sketch of this period is, it was the foundation for all subsequent writers who treated of it, and they add little of real value to it.

The traditions of the *Pentecontaëtia*, of the Age of Cimon and the Age of Pericles, were worked over by subsequent historians, furnished material for philosophic discussion and for oratorical illustration, and were utilized by the great schools of biography, philosophical and philological, which flourished long before Nepos and Plutarch. As was natural in such transmission, original material was altered to suit the changing need, and fresh material was invented to fill the unwelcome gap. An analysis of Plutarch's *Lives* of Cimon and Pericles will enable one to distinguish the early and original from the late and probably false tradition, and to realize how extensive was the literary deposit of centuries of learned and artistic labor to which the great biographer had more or less direct access.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS IN THE LIVES OF CIMON AND PERICLES

514–479 B.C. Græco-Persian War; Greeks on the defensive.

490 Battle of Marathon (Herod., vi. 94–120).

488 (?) Death of Miltiades, and payment of his fine by his son Cimon (*Cimon*, iv. 3–7).

485	Death of Darius I, and accession of Xerxes I (Herod., vii. 5).
480	Dedication of his horse's bridle by Cimon the knight (*Cimon*, v. 2).
	Battle of Salamis (Herod., viii. 40–96).
	Cimon special ambassador to Sparta with Xanthippus and Myronides (Plutarch, *Aristides*, x. 5).
479	Battles of Platæa and Mycale (Herod., ix. 19–106).
479–449	Græco-Persian War; Greeks in the offensive.
479	Siege of Sestos (Herod., ix. 114–121; Thuc., i. 89).
479–476	Fortification of Athens and the Piræus (Thuc., i. 89–93).
478	Capture of Sestos (*Cimon*, ix. 2).
	Cimon commands under Pausanias at Cyprus and Byzantium (Thuc., i. 94; *Cimon*, vi. 1–3).
477	Transfer of the leadership by sea from Sparta to Athens (Thuc., i. 95; *Cimon*, vi. 2–3).
	Formation of the Delian League (Thuc., i. 96).
476	The *Phœnissæ* of Phrynichus is brought out, with Themistocles as choregus, dramatizing the glories of Salamis (Plutarch, *Them.*, v. 4).
	Sparta makes an abortive invasion of Thessaly (Herod., vi. 72; Pausanias, iii. 7, 8).
	Sparta is checkmated by Themistocles in her attempt to exclude Thessaly, Argos, and Thebes from the Delphic Amphictyonic League (Plutarch, *Them.*, xx. 2).
476–475	Siege and capture of Eïon under Cimon's leadership, and recovery of the Thracian coast (*Cimon*, vii.).
	Annihilation of Athenian colonists at the Strymon (Scholiast on Æschines, *de falsa leg.*, 31).

475–473	Capture of Scyros, and restoration to Athens of the bones of Theseus by Cimon (*Cimon*, viii.).
472	The *Persæ* of Æschylus is brought out, exalting the services of Aristides at Salamis and Platæa.
	Ostracism of Themistocles (*Pericles*, vii. 2).
	Cimon the leading man at Athens (*Cimon*, ix.–x.; *Pericles*, ix. 2).
471	Death of Pausanias (Thuc., i. 134).
	Flight of Themistocles under condemnation for treason (Thuc., i. 135–137).
469–454	Gradual conversion of the Delian League into an Athenian empire (*Cimon*, xi.).
468 (?)	Revolt and subjection of Naxos (*Pericles*, xi. 5; Thuc., i. 98, 4; 137, 2).
	First dramatic victory of Sophocles (*Cimon*, viii. 7–8).
	Death of Aristides (*Pericles*, vii. 2).
	Pericles begins his political career (*Pericles*, vii. 2; xvi. 2).
467 (?)	Victories of Cimon at the Eurymedon (*Cimon*, xii., xiii.).
466 (?)	Cimon reclaims the Thracian Chersonese (*Cimon*, xiv. 1).
465–463	Siege and capture of Thasos under Cimon's leadership (*Cimon*, xiv. 2).
465	Death of Xerxes I, and accession of Artaxerxes I (Thuc., i. 137, 3).
	Annihilation of 10,000 Athenian colonists at Drabescus (Thuc., i. 100, 3).
464	Earthquake at Sparta, and revolt of the Helots (*Cimon*, xvi. 4–7).
463	Surrender of Thasos (*Cimon*, xiv. 2).
	Cimon prosecuted for bribery (*Cimon*, xiv. 2–4; *Pericles*, x. 5).
	Appeal of Sparta to Athens for aid (*Cimon*, xvi. 7–8).

462 Cimon's expedition to Messenia in aid of Sparta (*Cimon*, xv. 1; xvii. 1–2).

Attack on the Areiopagus by Ephialtes and Pericles (*Cimon*, xv. 2; *Pericles*, vii. 6; ix. 4).

461 Murder of Ephialtes (*Pericles*, x. 6–7).

Ostracism of Cimon (*Cimon*, xvii. 2; *Pericles*, ix. 4).

Pericles the leading man at Athens (*Pericles*, xv.).

About this time Pericles introduces a system of payment to citizens for service in the law-courts (Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 3–4; *Pericles*, ix. 1).

Anaxagoras at Athens from about this time till about 431 (*Pericles*, iv. 4; vi. 2; viii. 1; xvi. 5–7).

461–450 Athens at war with Peloponnesian states and Persia.

459 Harassed by Corinth, Megara forsakes Peloponnesian for Athenian alliance (Thuc., i. 103, 4).

Athenian expedition to Cyprus and thence to Egypt in aid of revolt from Persia (Thuc., i. 104).

458 Naval victory of Athenians over Æginetans, and blockade of Ægina (Thuc., i. 105, 2).

Athenians under Myronides defeat the Corinthians in the Megarid (Thuc., i. 105, 3—106).

457 Spartans invade Phocis and Bœotia, and defeat the Athenians at Tanagra; some time after this Cimon is recalled from banishment (*Cimon*, xvii. 3–6; *Pericles*, x. 1–3).

Athenians defeat the Bœotians at Œnophyta (Thuc., i. 108, 2–3), and regain Phocis and Bœotia.

456 Completion of the long walls to Phalerum and Piræus (Thuc., i. 108, 3; *Cimon*, xiii. 7).
Surrender of Ægina to Athens (Thuc., i. 108, 4).
Athens at the acme of her power.
Death of Æschylus at Gela in Sicily (*Marmor Parium* and Suidas).

455 Naval expedition of Tolmides round Peloponnesus (*Pericles*, xix. 3).

454 Disastrous collapse of the Athenian armament in Egypt (Thuc., i. 109, 110).
Removal of the treasury of the League from Delos to Athens (*Pericles*, xii. 2; *Aristides*, xxv. 2).
Futile invasion of Thessaly by Athens (Thuc., i. 111, 1).

453 Naval expedition of Pericles in the Corinthian Gulf (*Pericles*, xix. 2–4).

450 Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta (*Cimon*, xviii. 1; *Pericles*, x. 3).
Thirty years' peace between Argos and Sparta (Thuc., v. 14, 4; 28, 2).

449 Cimon's expedition to Cyprus, and his death there (*Cimon*, xviii., xix.; *Pericles*, x. 7).

448 "Peace of Callias" (*Cimon*, xiii. 4).
Thucydides, son of Melesias, succeeds Cimon as leader of the conservative party (*Pericles*, xi. 1).

(?) Pericles plans a Pan-Hellenic Congress at Athens (*ib.*, xvii.).
The "Sacred War" (*ib.*, xxi. 2).

447 Expedition of Pericles to the Thracian Chersonese (*ib.*, xi. 5; xix. 1–2).
Athenian colonists sent to Andros and Naxos (*ib.*, xi. 5).
The new Parthenon begun (*ib.*, xiii.).
Revolt of Bœotia, battle of Coroneia, and death of Tolmides (*ib.*, xviii. 2–3).

446	Revolt of Eubœa and Megara, and Spartan invasion of Attica (*Pericles*, xxii.).
	Subjection of Eubœa (*ib.*, xxiii.).
445	Thirty years' peace between Athens and Sparta (*ib.*, xxiv. 1).
444–443	Founding of Thurii (*ib.*, xi. 5).
442	Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias (*ib.*, xiv. 2).
	Pericles supreme in power (*ib.*, xv., xvi.).
440–439	Revolt and subjection of Samos (*ib.*, xxiv.–xxviii.).
	The Samian Funeral Oration of Pericles (*ib.*, viii. 6; xxviii. 3–5).
438	Dedication of the new Parthenon on the erection in its cella of the cult-statue of Athena by Pheidias (*ib.*, xiii. 9).
437	Beginning of the Propylæa (*ib.*, xiii. 7).
436	Successful founding of Amphipolis (Thuc., iv. 102).
(?)	Pontic expedition of Pericles (*Pericles*, xx. 1–2).
435	Beginning of hostilities between Corinth and Corcyra (Thuc., i. 24–30).
433	Completion of the Propylæa (*Pericles*, xiii. 7).
	Defensive alliance of Athens with Corcyra (*ib.*, xxix. 1–3).
	Naval battle between Corinthians and Corcyræans in which Athenian ships take part against Corinth (*ib.*).
432	Revolt of Potidæa from Athens; expedition from Corinth in aid of Potidæa; siege of Potidæa by the Athenians (*ib.*, xxix. 4).
	Megarian decree (*ib.*, xxix. 5).
	A congress of Peloponnesian allies votes for war with Athens (Thuc., i. 125).
	Demands of Sparta and counter-demands of Athens (*Pericles*, xxix. 5—xxx.).

432	Prosecutions of Aspasia, Anaxagoras, and Pheidias (*Pericles*, xxxi.–xxxii.).
431	Theban assault upon Platæa, a city allied with Athens (Thuc., ii. 2–6).
	Peloponnesian invasion of Attica (*Pericles*, xxxiii.).
	Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus; occupation of Ægina; invasion of the Megarid (*ib.*, xxxiv. 1–2).
431 (August)	Solar eclipse (*ib.*, xxxv. 1).
430	Second Peloponnesian invasion of Attica (Thuc., ii. 47).
	Outbreak of the plague at Athens (*Pericles*, xxxiv. 3).
	Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus and to Potidæa (*ib.*, xxxv. 1, 3).
	Pericles is deposed from command, tried and fined for malversation in office (*ib.*, xxxv. 4).
	Surrender of Potidæa (Thuc., ii. 70).
429 (Spring)	Reinstatement of Pericles in office (*Pericles*, xxxvii. 1).
(Autumn)	Death of Pericles (*ib.*, xxxviii.).

III. OUTLINE SKETCH OF GREEK HISTORY DURING THE *PENTECONTAËTIA*

In the largest sense the Græco-Persian wars extend from the Scythian expedition of Darius (514 B.C.), or, perhaps, even from the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by the Persians under Cyrus (538), to the conquest of Persia by Alexander (331), — two centuries in the round. The Persians have the offensive down to 479, when the victories of the Greeks at Platæa and Mycale put a stop forever to the invasion of Europe by Orientalism. Mycale itself marks the transition on the part of the Greeks from defensive to offensive warfare against the Persian Empire. This offensive warfare was waged at the very outset by the same Hellenic

alliance, headed by Sparta and Athens, which had triumphed at Salamis and Platæa. But soon Sparta fell back, and suffered Athens at the head of her Delian League to bring it to its glorious culmination in Cimon's double victory by land and sea at the Eurymedon (467). Even the calamitous destruction of the Athenian armament which was fighting Persia in Egypt (454) could not effectually dim the glories of the Age of Cimon, with its dominant note of friendly Hellenic combination in offensive war against Persia. The Spartan king Agesilaus revived the great idea successfully in 400–395; Epaminondas of Thebes and Jason of Pheræ cherished it tentatively; Philip and Alexander of Macedon carried it to triumphant issue. All through this long period of two centuries it is only fear of conquest by Persia that unites the Greeks at all; and when that fear is removed, even though the hope of conquering Persia beckons them on, they fall asunder in civil wars, till Macedonia forces them into reluctant unity and achieves the great task. For Persian intrigue was busy in all the Greek civil wars, trying to achieve dominance without arms, and it was therefore no mere sentiment of retaliation which actuated Philip and Alexander, but a far-seeing policy.

The Age of Pericles, then, glorious as it was, together with its logical and fully anticipated consequence, the Peloponnesian War, constituted a long interlude in the great struggle between Orient and Occident, Persia and Greece. Cimon wrought for Athenian supremacy at sea by means of the Delian League, Spartan supremacy on land by means of the Peloponnesian Confederacy, and friendly coöperation of the two powers against Persia; Pericles wrought for an Athenian Empire which should spiritually dominate all Hellas, and if need be successfully withstand Sparta and her Peloponnesian Confederacy. Had he lived longer, his great experiment would have succeeded, — at least such is the careful opinion of Thucydides the historian; but he died untimely, and there was no one to take his place as leader of a democracy which he had brought into its extremest

phase. His democracy was left to develop "from the rule of equality and law to the dominion of the lower classes of the city over the rich and the landowners."

According to Herodotus (ix. 106), the allied fleet of the Greeks which had won the victory of Mycale returned to Samos and "took counsel together concerning the Ionians." At once a difference of opinion arose between Athens and her Peloponnesian allies. The latter were for abandoning Asia and removing the Ionian Greeks there to the European mainland; the former was for defending the islanders already freed, and freeing the Ionians still under Persian sway. "So, as they set themselves against the change, the Peloponnesians yielded with a good will. Hereupon the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, who had helped the Greeks at this time, were received into the league of the allies." The note of cheerful concurrence on the part of Sparta with the designs of Athens which is noticeable here in Herodotus, is found accentuated later by Thucydides, and such an attitude of Sparta may be fully credited, however the other items of the story may be thought colored by the political hatreds of the time in which they were written. Together the enlarged forces of the allies proceeded to the Hellespont, with the design of destroying the bridges of Xerxes. Finding that these had already been broken up, the Peloponnesians under Leotychides sailed home, but the Athenians under Xanthippus, with their allies from Ionia and the regions of the Hellespont, "persevered" and undertook the siege of Sestos, prosecuted it through a severe winter, and finally captured the important stronghold in the following spring (478). This is the last episode in the Persian wars which Herodotus relates, and with it Thucydides begins his brief chronicle of the events of the *Pentecontaëtia* (i. 89). It is clear from the narrative of both historians that Athens had taken a most important step towards winning over to herself the sympathy and active support of the Asiatic Greeks.

But Sparta was not yet minded to resign the leadership by sea to Athens. Hardly were the victorious Athenians re-

turned from the capture of Sestos, when an allied fleet under the supreme command of the Spartan Pausanias, the victor of Platæa, was sent out to operate against Cyprus and Byzantium. Thirty Athenian ships under the command of Aristides and Cimon participated in the expedition, which subdued the greater part of Cyprus and captured Byzantium, thus placing the command of the entrances into the Ægean Sea in Greek hands. Meanwhile, under the direction and advice of Themistocles, the people of Athens were fortifying their city and harbor with a cunning and zeal which draw Thucydides from the brevity with which he treats most of this period into a glowing and dramatic excursus (i. 90–93). Athens was now clearly recognized as the leading naval power in the Hellenic world, and since aggressive attack upon Persia must of necessity be by sea, it soon became clear also that Athens must lead in this. Disheartened by the treachery of Pausanias, and shrinking from close contact with the larger world whose temptations proved too strong for the leaders of her training; unwilling also to follow where she had hitherto led, and duly heedful of the preferences of the Asiatic Greeks, Sparta left the task of attacking Persia and driving her from the Ægean to Athens and her new allies, and she did this, at first, with the best grace in the world.

There are two significant passages in Thucydides bearing on this point, to which too little attention is sometimes given. After the success of Themistocles' ruse to secure the building of the walls of Athens, to which Sparta had objected at the instigation of her allies, "The Lacedæmonians did not openly quarrel with the Athenians," says Thucydides (i. 92), "for they professed that their embassy had been designed not to interfere with them, but to offer a suggestion for the public good; besides, at that time the patriotism which the Athenians had displayed in the Persian War had created a warm feeling of friendliness between the two cities." And again, after the allies had refused allegiance to Dorcis, the feeble successor to Pausanias, "The Lacedæmonians," says

Thucydides (i. 95), "sent out no more commanders, for they were afraid that those whom they appointed would be corrupted, as they had found to be the case with Pausanias; they had had enough of the Persian War; and they thought that the Athenians were fully able to lead, and at that time believed them to be their friends." They may be said, then, to have consented to the Delian League, *i. e.* to friendly Hellenic dualism. Thus "the union of Hellas passed away with the crisis which had called it into existence."

But the pressure from without of the vast forces of the Persian Empire had for a brief period driven the centrifugal political atoms of Hellas together. There had been a congress of patriotic Hellenic states, and concerted action against Persia under the leadership of Sparta and her loose Peloponnesian League, to which Athens had consented to belong. Even this imperfect union had sufficed to repel the invaders. And now fresh invasions might at any time be expected, and a standing fleet must be maintained in readiness for defensive or aggressive service. Athens with her maritime allies could best furnish and support such a fleet, and with this object in view the Delian League was organized, now that "the Athenians by the good will of the allies had obtained the leadership." The difficult matter was to adjust the supply of war-ships. Only the larger members of the League possessed these, and it was therefore arranged that the smaller states should pay in to the treasury of the League an annual sum of money, in place of their quota of ships. Thucydides is clear on this point (i. 96): "They immediately fixed which of the cities should supply money and which of them ships for the war against the Barbarians, the avowed object being to compensate themselves and the allies for their losses by devastating the King's country." The war, that is, was to be aggressive on the part of the Greeks, and not merely defensive. The sanctuary of Apollo on the sacred isle of Delos was fixed upon as treasury and meeting place for the League, Athenian treasurers were appointed, and Athenian delegates had the presidency. The annual impost of money was fixed

at 460 talents (about half a million dollars, or £110,400), the sum necessary to keep a fleet of 100 triremes in service for a year, and this was so apportioned among the more than one hundred smaller states which elected to contribute money that no discontent was felt. This last was the achievement of Aristides, and marks the culmination of his career. After this he falls decidedly into the background. It was in the interests of Cimon, not Aristides, that Themistocles was ostracized (about 472), and the brilliant successes of Cimon at the head of the fleets of the Delian League seem to have been won independently of his former patron and friend. Nothing but late and uncertain testimony reaches us concerning the remaining years of Aristides' life, which probably closed quietly in 468, while his more brilliant but unfortunate rival, Themistocles, was a hunted fugitive among the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

The Delian League, under the presidency of Athens, and with Cimon as naval commander-in-chief, brilliantly fulfilled its mission. By the year 466 Europe and the Ægean Sea had been cleared of the Persians. But the League of Delos had been slowly changing into an Athenian Empire. When the powerful state of Naxos revolted from the League in 468, Thucydides says "the Athenians made war against them and reduced them by blockade. This was the first of the allied cities which was enslaved contrary to Hellenic law; the turn of the others came later" (i. 98, 4). The same impartial Athenian witness gives full details of the reasons which made the allies of Athens discontented and rebellious. "The causes which led to the defections of the allies were of different kinds, the principal being their neglect to pay the tribute or to furnish ships, and, in some cases, failure of military service. For the Athenians were exacting and oppressive, using coercive measures towards men who were neither willing nor accustomed to work hard. And for various reasons they soon began to prove less agreeable leaders than at first. They no longer fought upon an equality with the rest of the confederates, and they had no

difficulty in reducing them when they revolted. Now the allies brought all this upon themselves; for the majority of them disliked military service and absence from home, and so they agreed to contribute a regular sum of money instead of ships, whereby the Athenian navy was proportionally increased, while they themselves were always untrained and unprepared for war when they revolted" (i. 99).

Not only was the attitude of the allies of Athens in the Delian League changing from one of helpful coöperation to one of sullen submission, but her old ally in the great defensive struggles against Persia, Sparta, had become jealous of her rapidly increasing power by land as well as by sea, and secretly cherished hostile designs against her. Willingly leaving to Athens at first the supreme influence on the sea, Sparta had sought to build up for herself a dominant influence by land in central and northern Greece. She had reluctantly submitted to the fortification of Athens and her Piræus, and the success of Themistocles in this far-reaching scheme had cost him a popularity in Sparta such as no Hellene before or after him ever achieved. The gratitude she felt towards him as the manifest savior of Hellas by the creation of the Athenian naval power, changed to bitter hatred of him as the steadfast promoter of Athenian greatness after the danger of foreign invasion was removed. Her invasion of Thessaly in 476 in an attempt to make herself dominant there, was rendered futile and even disgraceful through the venality of her king Leotychides, the victor of Mycale. Pursuing still farther her design of punishing those Hellenes who had "medized" during the Persian peril, she sought to exclude from the ancient religious league of central Greece, known as the Delphic Amphictyony, the Thessalians, Thebans, and Argives. But Themistocles thwarted her in this attempt and added venom to her hatred of him. "It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favor, making him the political rival of Themistocles" (Plutarch, *Themist.*, xx. 2). The policy of friendly dual-

ism in Hellas, with Athens and Sparta at the head of their respective leagues united in aggressive war upon Persia, for which Aristides and Cimon stood, was clearly imperilled by the policy of the imperial aggrandizement of Athens for which Themistocles stood. The great family of the Alcmæonidæ threw their influence into the scales on the side of Sparta, Aristides, and Cimon, and in the plebiscite, or ostracism, of 472, Themistocles was voted into exile, and Cimon became the leader of the Athenian democracy.

The conservative party had triumphed, but their triumph was to endure hardly more than a decade. For a great change had come over Athens, to which Cimon and the nobles like him could not reconcile themselves, and which they could scarcely understand. Instead of the simple agricultural republic which had won the victory of Marathon with its heavy-armed soldiers of the middle citizen class, it had become a maritime, commercial, and industrial democracy whose victories were won by the sailor-citizens of the lowest class. This lowest and largest class of citizens now demanded such a measure of political privilege as should more fairly correspond to their political duties. Cimon, the restless and resistless sea-fighter, who was absent from Athens at least seven of the ten years of his political supremacy, had neither the time nor the inclination to attend to these increasingly insistent demands of the lowest and largest citizen class. He was satisfied with the old feudal order of Cleisthenes, and depended rather on royal large-handedness in the public use of his boundless wealth than on concession to the rising demands of the laboring class in order to secure and maintain his influence with them. While he was absent subduing Naxos, winning his great victories over the Persians at the Eurymedon, reclaiming the Thracian Chersonese, and conquering Thasos, this discontented and powerful lowest class of citizens found a valiant and incorruptible champion in Ephialtes, who was supported by Pericles. Not all the brilliancy of Cimon's many victories, nor the princely generosity with which he administered his wealth, could prevail against

the rising tide of democratic reform. It was only narrowly that he escaped condemnation on a charge of bribery after his return from the conquest of Thasos, and when his policy of friendly coöperation with Sparta received its death-blow there was nothing left for him but the same ostracism which he had helped to bring down upon Themistocles.

Sparta had not been deaf to the calls for aid from the oppressed allies of Athens. She had actually promised to help the Thasians, but had been prevented from doing so by the fearful earthquake of 464 and the revolt of the Helots and Messenians which followed. In her extremity she appealed to Athens for help. The conservative party, headed by Cimon, pleaded that this aid be granted, and in the end carried their point, but only after strenuous opposition. Cimon was sent to Messenia with a large force of heavy-armed men to assist in the reduction of the Messenian stronghold. During the absence of this large body of the conservative element, the radical party brought to a head their attacks upon the Council of the Areiopagus, the political stronghold of the landed aristocracy and the conservative middle class. The Council was stripped of its controlling voice in the management of the growing empire, and its chief prerogatives distributed among the organs of government which were directly under the control of all classes of citizens, including the lowest. When Cimon returned from his expedition to Messenia after humiliation at the hands of Sparta, the policy of friendly dualism, for which he had contended so long and so nobly, was abandoned for good and all, and Athens made new alliances with Thessaly and Argos, the states which had most notoriously "medized" during the wars of defence, and which were most hostile to Sparta. The murder of Ephialtes and the ostracism of Cimon left Pericles the leading man at Athens.

He was the political heir of Themistocles, whom his family had helped to ostracize, and the lustre of whose glory he helped to tarnish. But he had advantages over Themistocles in attempting, as he now did, to govern, control, and

educate the extreme democracy, in the evolution of which he had deemed it wise to coöperate with Ephialtes. By descent, on his mother's side, as well as by marriage, he was connected with the most famous and powerful family of Athens, the Alcmæonidæ, which had lately been identified with the popular party. His father, Xanthippus, had taken an honorable part in the victory of Mycale as commander of the Athenian forces. Pericles had majestic dignity, irresistible eloquence, and a mind open to all the new intellectual movements of the time. He saw that it was useless to try to stem the incoming tide of democratic power. The reforms of Cleisthenes (508–500) had left Athens a virtual democracy, with the rights and privileges already won which Roman society was two centuries yet in securing. Instead of hopelessly striving against the flood, as Cimon, no more an aristocrat really than Pericles, had vainly tried to do, he fell in with it, attempting only to guide, regulate, and control it. After the work of Ephialtes was done, the lower house, or popular assembly, transacted directly all the vast business of the empire, and the citizen courts were in perpetual session. But having heaped power and privilege on the citizen body, Pericles closely guarded that body, training and educating it up to its duties. He was an able aristocrat in league with an enlightened democracy which was willing and proud to be led by him. But his democracy was a closed, privileged, and aristocratic democracy, anything but the open democracy of our own times, since admission to citizenship was jealously guarded. And so Pericles became a "good tyrant." "Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy," says Thucydides (ii. 65, 9), "was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen." He used the imperial revenues to adorn the city, to educate and entertain his privileged and aristocratic democracy, and give them leisure for their civil duties and imperial delights. "He realized the essential idea of the Greek city more fully than it had ever been realized before, or was ever realized after; and he did this by enabling every citizen, poor no less than rich, to feel that he was a citizen indeed, taking his

part in the work of the city without undue sacrifice of his private interests, and sharing in the noblest enjoyments which the city had to offer" (Jebb). Payment for all public services and the theoric fund for imperial festivals made the poorest citizen, in conjunction with the prevalent system of slavery, a man of political leisure. Law, politics, art, letters, and philosophy became democratic fads. Hence the remarkable union of communal power with individual freedom which marks the Age of Pericles. Native ability in a mixed stock; rich inheritances from the East, Egypt, and Asia Minor; geographical and climatic advantages; imperial wealth and breadth; perfected democracy of administration in the hands of a small and tightly closed citizen body; a gifted aristocrat in trusted leadership, — these were factors which the world will probably never again see so happily combined as in the Athens of Pericles.

Had Athens been satisfied to maintain a supremacy on the sea alone, her task would have been a great one. Ægina, which had been mistress of the Ægean Sea and the chief centre of Greek art and wealth at the opening of the sixth century, was an implacable foe, especially now that Athens was seeking to wrest from her the commerce of Egypt by sending thither a mighty armament in aid of revolt from Persia. Corinth, another strong naval power, had been turned from friend to foe by the alliance of Athens with Megara, and her evident ambition to control the commerce of the Corinthian Gulf and the West. Her control of the commerce of the Euxine Sea was liable to be shattered at any time by a hostile coalition against her of such powerful maritime allies as Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, with whom Persia was intriguing. But Athens aimed also at a supremacy by land in central and northern Greece, and so came into clash with Sparta. For a time, such was her wondrous vigor, she maintained a successful war with all these hostile Greek states and with Persia as well. She lost control of Bœotia as a consequence of the battle of Tanagra, it is true, but soon won it back in the battle of Œnophyta; she com-

pletely subdued Ægina, after a desperate resistance; she defeated the Corinthians in the Megarid, and all this while maintained her great armament in Egypt. With the completion of the long walls to her seaports she reached the acme of her power, and in the following year (455) could send a naval force under Tolmides entirely round Peloponnesus and into the Corinthian Gulf, harrying Sparta, Corinth, and Sicyon alike, secure as she was from assault by land in the possession of Megara, and by sea in that of invincible ships of war.

But in the following year (454) her great armament in Egypt, which had been fighting there for six years with varying fortune, was utterly annihilated, and the peril of Persian invasion to punish her for meddling there was so imminent that the treasury of the Delian League was removed for safety to Athens. The strength of the ambitious state was broken for a time by this catastrophic blow. An invasion of Thessaly in which "none of their plans succeeded," and a naval expedition under Pericles in the Corinthian Gulf by which nothing was accomplished, show that her spirit too was broken. If the Delian League, now become the Athenian Empire, was to be preserved, war with Peloponnesian states must cease, at least for a time, and an imposing demonstration of imperial power must be made in eastern waters, before Persia should again take the initiative. In other words, the policy of Cimon must be resumed.

Cimon was at hand, having been recalled from banishment soon after the battle of Tanagra. He was still *persona grata* in Sparta, and Sparta too was disheartened by her lack of success during the last decade of war, and by the ease with which Athens could harry the coasts of Peloponnesus. A five years' truce was made between the two states (450), years which each spent in manifest preparation for a resumption of hostilities. Athens sought to make her supremacy by sea again unquestioned, and Sparta to extend her influence in central and northern Greece. The powerful Peloponnesian state of Argos left Athens to make her peace for thirty years

with Sparta. But still, for a time, the two leading states were not in open hostility to one another. It was a counterfeit, therefore, of the old status of friendly dualism which marked the opening years of the Age of Cimon. Sparta was at heart a foe, and the allies of Athens were either jealous of their independence or sullen at their subjection. Still, there could be other victories over the national enemy which should recall the glories of the Eurymedon, since Cimon was there to win them. Such victories there might have been, had Cimon lived, but off Cyprus death took him from his victories and his patriotic hopes. With him a great sea warrior, but not a great statesman, passed away. And it was well, for neither could he have endured the new order of things in the state, nor could the new state have long endured him. His fleet returned to Athens bearing the dead body of its commander, after so much of success as to return, unlike the armament in Egypt, and after having shown such probability of future success that the Great King was content, in the so-called "Peace of Callias," to accept the *status quo*.

The successor of Cimon in the leadership of the conservative party was Thucydides, son of Melesias, no warrior like Cimon, but a far abler parliamentarian. We get clear echoes of the forensic contests between him and Pericles in the spirited chapters of Plutarch (*Pericles*, xi., xii., xiv.). The allies of Athens had at last a strong champion in the Athenian assembly, now that the congress of the members of the Delian League had been abandoned with the removal of their treasury to Athens. For a few years it seemed as though Athens might retain her supremacy by sea and also her dominating influence in central Greece. She refused to be drawn into open hostilities with Sparta by the provocations of the "Sacred War," in which control of the Delphic sanctuary was the prize, and succeeded nevertheless in retaining the prize for a brief time. She strengthened her hold on the Thracian Chersonese, established citizen-colonists in Andros and Naxos, and began or resumed great building projects. But the loss of her hold on Bœotia in the battle of Coroneia (447) revealed

the fact of her inability to maintain a double supremacy, and when her great ally Eubœa revolted, Sparta took advantage of the expiration of the five years' truce to induce a revolt of Megara also, and to invade Attica with a Peloponnesian army (446). The impregnable city herself, of course, ran no danger, and her fleets still commanded the seas, but her extended power on land was hopelessly gone, and she was glad to make the terms of a thirty years' peace with Sparta which recognized that fact, and left her free to make thorough work of the subjection of Eubœa. She abandoned the two harbors of Megara, which had given her naval stations of the greatest strategic value on the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs, and also her foothold in northern Peloponnesus. She as good as returned, that is, to her land power of 460. She had overreached herself.

Fourteen of the thirty years for which peace was concluded passed without open hostilities between the two states, and yet during all those years both were more or less consciously preparing for war, — the Spartans in their own peculiar way, the Athenians in theirs. Sparta continued, as an exclusive military oligarchy based on servile agriculture, to breed and train men for war. Athens, as a commercial and industrial democracy, opened her gates to all the earth, beautified, enriched, and enjoyed herself. "We have not forgotten," Thucydides makes his Pericles say in the *Funeral Oration* (ii. 38), "to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own." By excelling all other states in the works of peace, now that war was for a time at an end, Athens was to make herself ready for any war that might in the future be thrust upon her. From aggressive war, such as had brought her into weakness from very excess of undertaking, she was hence-

forth to hold herself aloof. She was to become "the school of Hellas," and each individual citizen was "to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace." With the ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias, in 442, all organized and parliamentary opposition to this policy of Pericles ceased. The sovereign people of Athens wanted what Pericles revealed to them as possible, and wanted him to lead them to the attainment of it. His state enriched the poor citizens without impoverishing the rich. With the subject allies it might be another matter, as well as with the aliens and slaves. But for the rightful citizen, never before or since has life developed so richly as it developed in the beautiful city of the Virgin Goddess, "onde ogni scienza disfavilla."

Though Persia, Sparta, and Athens were formally at peace, it needed no great provocation, and hardly more than a great opportunity, to precipitate war. Such a great opportunity came with the revolt of Samos in 440. This island state had been foremost in urging the transfer of the leadership from Sparta to Athens in 477, and had favored the removal of the treasury of the League from Delos to Athens in 454. But she had become so strong that Athens welcomed the opportunity to humble her aristocracy which her quarrel with Miletus afforded. Into the war which followed her revolt from Athens it seemed at one time that both Persia and Sparta would be drawn. But the prompt appearance of a large Athenian fleet in Eastern waters checked any project of Persian interference which may have been on foot; the protests of Corinth, who had nothing now to gain by war with Athens, held Sparta aloof; the fine diplomacy of the poet Sophocles kept Chios and Lesbos from joining in the revolt which threatened to dissolve the Athenian Empire; and all the imperial forces of Athens could be concentrated upon the task of crushing this powerful and once friendly ally. The task was thoroughly done, but at great cost to Athens, especially in the revelation of the necessity which was now upon her of strengthening the centre and core of

her empire, even at the cost of abandoning profitable dependencies at remoter distances.

Still, the Parthenon could be completed, the Propylæa begun, Amphipolis finally established on the Strymon, and the Euxine Sea with its circle of prosperous Greek cities brought more closely under Athenian influence, before new complications arose which made war inevitable. War had not seemed inevitable when the thirty years' peace was made, for Athens renounced her land power, and definite spheres of influence were recognized for both the Peloponnesian Confederacy and the Athenian Empire, — for the land power and the sea power which constituted a Hellenic dualism. But in Corcyra, an ancient colony of Corinth, a sea power had arisen in the West which destroyed the balance of power upon which the thirty years' peace was built. Corcyra had always been at odds with her mother city, and had taken no share in the struggle which kept Hellas free from Persian domination. She would have been contented with an isolated policy, but was drawn into armed conflict with Corinth, and inflicted upon her a humiliating defeat (435). From this time on it became the one purpose of Corinth to subjugate her powerful colony and effective rival in the commerce of the West. Had she been allowed to do so, the naval supremacy of Athens, which had been fully recognized in the thirty years' peace, would have been jeopardized. When, therefore, Corcyra renounced her "indolent neutrality" and appealed to Athens for aid and alliance, Athens had to make the difficult choice between an immediate war with the Peloponnesian Confederacy provoked by her taking sides against Corinth, the most powerful member of that confederacy next to Sparta, and a more or less remote war for self-preservation if the confederacy should be allowed to combine in its resources the maritime strength both of Corinth and Corcyra. She hesitated. The arguments on both sides have been summed up exhaustively by Thucydides in two supposititious speeches, — one by a Corcyræan, and one by a Corinthian embassy to the Athenian assembly (i. 31–43).

"Hellas has only three considerable navies," urge the Corcyræans, — "there is ours, and there is yours, and there is the Corinthian. Now, if the Corinthians get hold of ours, and you allow the two to become one, you will have to fight against the united navies of Corcyra and the Peloponnesus. But, if you make us your allies, you will have our navy in addition to your own ranged at your side in the impending conflict." On the other hand the Corinthians warned: "The war with which the Corcyræans would frighten you into doing wrong is distant, and may never come; is it worth while to be so carried away by the prospect of it that you bring upon yourselves the hatred of the Corinthians which is both near and certain?" "The Athenians heard both sides, and they held two assemblies; in the first of them they were more influenced by the words of the Corinthians, but in the second they changed their minds and inclined towards the Corcyræans. They would not go so far as to make an alliance both offensive and defensive with them; for then, if the Corcyræans had required them to join in an expedition against Corinth, the treaty with the Peloponnesians would have been broken. But they concluded a defensive league, by which the two states promised to aid each other if an attack were made on the territory or on the allies of either. For they knew that in any case the war with Peloponnesus was inevitable, and they had no mind to let Corcyra and her navy fall into the hands of the Corinthians" (Thuc., i. 44). In the great battle off the Sybota islands between Corinth and Corcyra, the Athenian ships were drawn into the conflict and prevented the Corinthians from following up the victory which they had won. The measure of Corinth's hatred of Athens was now full.

Her first blow of reprisal was the assistance of Potidæa, also a colony of hers, but an ally of Athens, in a revolt from Athenian control (432). This was a flagrant violation of the peace, of which Athens had been careful not to be guilty in making her defensive alliance with Corcyra. The treaty had said, "Any Hellenic city which is the ally of no one may join whichever league it pleases" (Thuc., i. 35, 1).

But Potidæa was already a member of the Athenian League, — a part of her empire. Athens might with technical justice have declared the treaty broken, and begun open war. But this was not the policy of Pericles. He wished to maintain a strictly defensive attitude, and let the enemy begin open war. He could not, however, allow this hostile act on the part of Corinth to go unpunished without weakening the whole structure of the Athenian Empire. Athens must be seen to be ready for war, even though loath to begin it. In accordance with his advice, therefore, a blow of retaliation was struck at Corinth through her near neighbor and friend, Megara, against which state Athens justly cherished bitter hatred on account of her treachery and cruelty in the great crisis of 446. A decree was enacted by the Athenian assembly barring Megara from all the ports and markets of the Athenian Empire. This meant, of course, commercial extinction for Megara, and was plainly a violation of the treaty. But Corinth had violated it first. If the Corinthians complained "that the Athenians were blockading their colony of Potidæa, which was occupied by a Corinthian and Peloponnesian garrison, the Athenians rejoined that the Peloponnesians had excited to revolt a state which was an ally and tributary of theirs, and that they had now openly joined the Potidæans and were fighting on their side" (Thuc., i. 66).

"The Peloponnesian War, however," Thucydides goes on to say, "had not yet broken out; the peace still continued; for thus far the Corinthians had acted alone. But now, seeing Potidæa besieged, they bestirred themselves in earnest." At a conference of all the Peloponnesian states which had grievances against Athens, held at Sparta in July of this year (432), the Corinthians were the prime agitators in an effort to induce Sparta to declare war. After hearing the complaints of their allies, the Lacedæmonian assembly by a large majority voted that the Athenians were guilty of breaking the treaty, and that a general assembly of all the allies be held to vote on the question of war (Thuc., i. 67–87). This general assembly convened at Sparta early in September of the same

year, and the majority voted for war (Thuc., i. 119–125). "Fifty years elapsed between the retreat of Xerxes and the beginning of the war," says Thucydides (i. 118, 2), at the close of his brief summary of the events of this period; "during these years took place all those operations of the Hellenes against one another and against the Barbarian which I have been describing. The Athenians acquired a firmer hold over their empire, and the city itself became a great power. The Lacedæmonians saw what was going on, but during most of the time they remained inactive and hardly attempted to interfere. They had never been of a temper prompt to make war unless they were compelled; and they were in some degree embarrassed by enemies near home. But the Athenians were growing too great to be ignored and were laying hands on their allies. They could now bear it no longer: they made up their minds that they must put out all their strength and overthrow the Athenian power by force of arms. And therefore they commenced the Peloponnesian War." The underlying cause of the war, then, according to Thucydides, was the Spartan jealousy of Athenian greatness. The immediate occasion of it was the disturbance of the balance of power between the two leagues which had made the thirty years' peace, by the attempt of Corinth to subdue Corcyra. This led to the defensive alliance of Athens with Corcyra, which was no violation of the treaty, and this to flagrant violations of the treaty by Corinth first, and then by Athens, in the interference of the former with Potidæa, an ally of Athens, and of the latter with Megara, an ally of Sparta. And it was Sparta who began the war, refusing the appeal of Athens to the arbitration provided by the treaty (Thuc., i. 145).

Since 445, taught by a bitter experience, Pericles had succeeded in leading the people which made him the executive of their power in the paths of peace. He had not sought war, but only to be ready for war if it should be thrust upon him. And there was no glory to be won in the purely defensive conduct of the war which he planned. It is clear, therefore, that he could not have desired, much less have caused

the war. And yet this charge was brought against him by his political enemies, who were many. And they played upon the passions and prejudices of the people in many attempts to discredit the great leader. They attacked his personal friends, hoping to reach him through them. The comic poets, who amused the people by throwing such material as characterizes the "yellow journalism" of our day into attractive literary form, defamed and ridiculed him. And after two invasions of the enemy and a dreadful plague had driven the Athenians to make unsuccessful overtures of peace to Sparta, "being completely at their wit's end, they turned upon Pericles" as the author of all their woes. "I allow," Thucydides has him say (ii. 61), "that for men who are in prosperity and free to choose it is great folly to make war. But when they must either submit and at once surrender independence, or strike and be free, then he who shuns and not he who meets the danger is deserving of blame." For when the Spartan ultimatum had come, saying that there must be war unless the Athenians should "restore independence to the Hellenes," *i. e.* abandon their empire, his reply had been, "We will concede independence to the cities if they were independent when we made the treaty, and as soon as the Lacedæmonians allow their subject states to be governed as they choose, not for the interest of Lacedæmon, but for their own. We are willing to offer arbitration according to the treaty. We do not want to begin war, but intend to defend ourselves if attacked." In spite of this magnanimous defence, though "in the conduct of public affairs they took his advice, the popular indignation was not pacified" until they had deposed him from the office which he had held without interruption for fourteen years, and fined him for malversation. "But soon afterwards, with the usual fickleness of the multitude, they elected him general and committed all their affairs to his charge. Their private sorrows were beginning to be less acutely felt, and for a time of public need they thought that there was no man like him" (Thuc., ii. 65, 4).

But their confidence came back too late. The strain of the

two years of calamitous war and pestilence, the loss of kin and friends, the knowledge of "how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child," and the ingratitude of a people to whom he had given and for whom he had done so much, would seem to have broken his great heart.

IV. THE SOURCES OF PLUTARCH IN HIS *CIMON*, WITH AN ANALYSIS OF THIS *LIFE*

Eduard Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, ii. 1–65) has subjected the *Cimon* to the most penetrating analysis, and has shown that Plutarch's main source was a traditional, or vulgate biography, the product in the main of the learned labors of Alexandrine scholars of the third and second centuries B.C. This traditional biography of Cimon Plutarch makes the basis of his own work, along with its citations of authority. It was a common practice for later historians and biographers to take their material at second hand, even when the original sources were at their command. The manner in which they elaborate this material marks the difference in their literary or historical talent. "From practically the same material Diodorus will produce a mechanical compilation; Appian a useful popular compendium for the general public; Livy a rhetorical work full of pathos and glowing patriotism, but lacking entirely in historical comprehension; Dio Cassius a historical work of independence and careful plan, abounding in mistakes and perversions of original testimonies, but full of inspiration; Plutarch a charming personal portrait in which, out of the fulness of his learning, he introduces countless reflections and moralizing considerations, as well as sundry historical additions to his basic authority, displaying always the finest skill in preserving unaltered and effective all the really authentic materials therein contained" (Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 24). Such a personal portrait we have in the *Cimon*. As a portrait, it is to be enjoyed without analysis. But as a document which, in the dearth of historical evidence for the period of Cimon's life, is

sure to be cited in evidence for the reconstruction of the history of this period, it must be subjected to the most careful scrutiny. No such scrutiny will mar the literary charm of Plutarch, although his worth as a historical witness must be affected thereby. On the literary side we may heed the warning voice of the reviewer: "By all means let us have information about sources, briefly and dispassionately given; but let us not be allowed to forget, in a multitude of originals and parallels, just what it is that makes the difference between the perennial popularity of a great writer and the undisturbed obscurity of his supposed sources." As an ethical portrait-painter, Plutarch will always be great and always popular. But when summoned as a historical witness, we must know the truth about his work, and what are its sources, even though they rest in "undisturbed obscurity."

Plutarch does not name Thucydides the historian in the *Cimon*, and evidently does not use him directly, although, as has been seen (p. 6), Thucydides was for Plutarch as for us the chief literary authority for the period of Cimon's life. For Plutarch's purposes of ethical portraiture there was nothing in Thucydides, and the traditional biography had incorporated the skeleton of events which Thucydides gives. Neither does Plutarch mention by name Theopompus, or Æschines the Orator, or Xenophon, or Didymus *Chalkenteros*, although some of the most effective material in his life of Cimon can be traced back to these writers. It does not always follow that because Plutarch does not mention the name of an ultimate source, he is not using that source directly, although it may be generally true. Here lies the great margin of uncertainty which must always encompass the study of Plutarch's sources, and it therefore follows that no two critics will agree closely upon the extent of the "traditional biography" which forms in any given case the basis of Plutarch's work, nor upon the degree in which Plutarch adds to this from his known stores of learning. Plutarch does cite by name eighteen authors. Many, perhaps most of these he finds cited in his main source, the "tradi-

tional biography." But whether he names his source or not, and whether he draws from that source directly or indirectly, are matters which concern only the manner of Plutarch's procedure. The worth of the material which he gives us depends upon the worth of the ultimate sources for that material. Of Thucydides and Hellanicus enough has been said in chapter i. of this Introduction. A brief characterization will now be given of all the other possible sources for the material of the *Cimon*, whether named by Plutarch or not, arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order. Euripides need not be included, from whose lost *Lycimnius* comes the merely illustrative and ornamental citation in iv. 4; nor Xenophon, a passage in whose *Memorabilia* must have been in Plutarch's mind as he speaks of the hospitality of Lichas, in x. 5. In some twenty cases also a vague phrase of reference, like "it is said," or "some say," hides from us the particular source, or marks matter taken at second hand.

Archelaus and Melanthius are mentioned in chapter iv. as authors of poems addressed to Cimon, from which certain details of family relationship are gathered. One of these poems would seem to have been anonymous, and attributed to Archelaus the natural philosopher by Panætius the Stoic philosopher. Diogenes Laertius (ii. 4) says that Archelaus the natural philosopher was a pupil of Anaxagoras and a teacher of Socrates, and that he brought the study of natural philosophy from Miletus to Athens. As there are no other traces of a poetical activity on his part, we must leave his authorship of the consolatory poem addressed to Cimon where Plutarch leaves it, — among the chronological possibilities. Such a poem doubtless existed, and may have been the source of what Diodorus the Topographer has to say in xvi. 1 about the children of Isodice by Cimon. Melanthius was perhaps the tragic poet satirized by Aristophanes and other comic poets for the badness of his poetry, as well as for gluttony and wantonness. A passage from his *Medeia* is parodied in the *Peace* of Aristophanes, 1012 f. (*pace* Nauck), and the only one of his tragic verses which has been preserved is quoted

twice by Plutarch (*de cohibenda ira*, 2 = *Morals*, 453 F; *de sera numinis vindicta*, 5 = *Morals*, 551 A). Athenæus (343 C) says he also wrote elegiac poems. It would seem more likely therefore that he, and not Archelaus, was the author of the anonymous consolatory poem addressed to Cimon. Of course, being contemporary documents, these poems would have high historical value, but it can hardly be supposed that they survived the destruction of the Alexandrian library in 48 B. C. Plutarch finds them cited in learned comment on the career of Cimon. Three elegiac poems would seem to be distinguished in this fourth chapter of the *Cimon:* one by Melanthius in which the generosity of Polygnotus is lauded (§ 6), one by the same author in which the loves of Cimon are recorded (§ 8), and one, anonymous, but attributed to Archelaus, in which Cimon is compassionated for the loss of his wife Isodice (§ 9).

Of the poets of the Old Comedy, Plutarch cites in the *Cimon* only three, Cratinus (x. 3), Aristophanes (xvi. 7), and Eupolis (xv. 3). It was not until about 460 that the subvention of the state put comedy on the same level of privilege as tragedy, and Cratinus is the oldest comic poet about whom we can form any very definite idea. His successes were won between 449, the year of Cimon's death, and 423. In his old age he was a rival of Aristophanes, who began to present plays in 427, and continued his activity till 388. Eupolis was of about the same age as Aristophanes, and was successful between 429 and 411. It is only by way of reminiscence, therefore, that Cimon is alluded to by Cratinus and Eupolis, and then, clearly, as a shining example of a good, easy-going aristocrat of the old school, in contrast with the radical politicians of the day who are under immediate attack. Aristophanes is cited in corroboration of a purely historical fact, — an occurrence antedating the play by fifty-three years. There is no need now therefore to consider the peculiar nature of Old Comedy as an engine of public opinion, and we reserve this for the study of the sources of the *Pericles* (p. 54). On Pericles, as a living and potent factor in the transforma-

tion of Athenian society, Old Comedy poured out the vials of its abuse.

It is through Ion of Chios that we come into living touch, as it were, with the great personalities of the *Pentecontaëtia*. He saw and heard and had intercourse with Cimon and Pericles, and testifies from such experience. He was a brilliant and popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421. Besides the lyric and tragic poetry which gave him fame, he composed a prose work entitled *Sojourns*, or *Recollections*, in which he recounted his personal experiences at Athens and elsewhere, and particularly his impressions of the great men of the day, — of Æschylus, Sophocles, Cimon, and Pericles. It is a collection of amiable reminiscences. Through this delightful, but not always impartial witness, choice bits of authentic contemporary testimony have come down to us, chiefly by way of Athenæus and Plutarch. He evidently moved in fashionable and aristocratic circles, and his sympathies made Cimon the object of undisguised admiration. Of Pericles he speaks without warmth of feeling. Scanty as his testimonies are, they are of the highest value. Even if unfavorable, they are never malignant.

Stesimbrotus of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist who achieved some note at Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles, published, about the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431), a political pamphlet on Themistocles, Thucydides (son of Melesias), and Pericles, in which there was also much said about Cimon. As a Thasian, Stesimbrotus was naturally full of rancor against Themistocles, the founder of the Athenian navy, and Pericles, the promoter of the Athenian Empire. Cimon and Thucydides, as rivals and opponents of Pericles, were handled with less malevolence. All manner of current malevolent and scandalous stories about the two champions of the democracy were collected in his work, which made no pretence of being legitimate history or biography. It was a defamatory tract, filled with spicy and scandalous gossip. Its chief historical value lies in the glimpses which it gives into the depths of

partisan rancor at the time when the life of Pericles was drawing to its close. It was written, of course, in the interests of the oligarchical party. All that we know positively about it is based on the citations from it which Plutarch makes in his *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*. Much as Plutarch uses it, directly or indirectly, he is usually averse to accepting its evidence. It is probably the work which wrings from him the bitter complaint (*Pericles*, xiii. 12) that "the research of their contemporaries into men's deeds and lives, partly through envious hatred and partly through fawning flattery, defiles and distorts the truth."

Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, is cited in x. 5 to characterize Cimon's generosity. Though prominent with Protagoras as a "sophist," he wished rather to be known as a rhetorician and orator. He was sent on a special embassy from his native city to Athens in 427, to plead for assistance against the encroachments of Syracuse. Though at that time nearly sixty years old, he won extraordinary fame for his eloquence, and spent the rest of his many years at Athens or neighboring cities in the practice and teaching of his art, from which he amassed great wealth. We know his style almost wholly through the imitations of it by Plato, but may fairly infer that it was artificially beautiful, cleverly precise, and even vigorous. However, "his sentences, though full in words, are wanting in ideas." The greatest service which he rendered was in preparing Attic diction for the use of a historian who is never wanting in ideas, — Thucydides.

Critias, one of the "thirty tyrants" (404–403), is cited twice in the *Cimon*, once (x. 5) in praise, and once (xvi. 8) in blame. That Critias, oligarch as he was, should blame Cimon for wishing to help Sparta in her sore straits, shows that his patriotism could rise above his partisanship. This brilliant follower of Socrates, like Alcibiades, brought odium upon the master, and gave color to the charge against him of corrupting the youth. As one of the "thirty tyrants," he was conspicuous for rapacity and cruelty, and brought about the death of Theramenes, the champion of moderation. He

was the author of tragedies of considerable merit, a few fragments of which survive, and also of elegies, or elegiac poems on political subjects, six fragments of which are extant, to which should perhaps be added the citation in xvi. 8. Plutarch cites from them also in his *Alcibiades*, xxxiii. 1. However, the citation in xvi. 8 is usually referred to a work on Greek polities, part of which was a *Constitution of Athens* (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ii. p. 70).

Æschines the Orator (to be distinguished from Æschines the Socratic, who is cited in the *Pericles*), from whom Plutarch takes the invaluable documentary material of chapter vii., was the great rival of Demosthenes, and head of the Macedonian party in Athens, which triumphed with the victory of Philip at Chæroneia in 338. Ctesiphon, an admirer of Demosthenes, proposed that the orator be rewarded for his services to the state with a golden crown bestowed in the theatre of Dionysus. Æschines prosecuted Ctesiphon for making an illegal proposal. The case was for some reason not tried until 330, when the speech of Æschines *Against Ctesiphon* and that of Demosthenes *On the Crown* really reviewed and compared the public services of the two orators and their claims to the gratitude of their fellow-citizens. When the issue was put to vote, Æschines did not have a fifth of the court in his favor, and consequently was obliged by law to leave the country. He spent several years in Asia Minor as a teacher of rhetoric, then founded a school of eloquence in Rhodes which became celebrated, and died at Samos in 314.

Naucrates, surnamed *Erythræus*, is spoken of as a pupil of Isocrates, and as a competitor with him and Theopompus for the prize offered by Artemisia, in 352, for the best funeral oration upon her husband, Mausolus. Theopompus won the prize. Naucrates wrote on technical rhetorical subjects, and also composed models of funeral orations for men of note, none of which are extant. From one of these the item concerning Cimon's tomb at Citium (xix. 4) may have been taken.

There was a long line of antiquarian writers who composed the *Atthides*, or chronological histories of the customs, institutions, and monuments of Athens. The oldest of these, if Hellanicus be not included in the group (see p. 2), whose *Atthis* was of a more general character, was Cleidemus, or Cleitodemus. The few fragments of his work which have reached us make it probable that he flourished during the closing years of the fifth, and in the first half of the fourth century B. C. Phanodemus is also a writer of this class, about whom even less is known. Plutarch cites him twice in the *Cimon* (xii. 5; xix. 1), and may be drawing from him or from Philochorus with the indefinite "it is said" of xiii. 7. Androtion is another, said by Suidas to have been a pupil of Isocrates, like Ephorus and Theopompus. He was one of the authorities from whom Aristotle drew material for his *Constitution of Athens* (p. 43), and was active in the year 346 B. C. These were all predecessors of the most important writer of this class, Philochorus, who was slain at Athens by Antigonus Gonatas in 261 B. C. He was a professional seer, and an official interpreter of oracles and portents in 306. His chief work, an *Atthis*, carried the chronicles of Athens down to the year of his death, and the fragments of it testify to the great learning and wisdom of the author. Plutarch cites him by name frequently in his *Theseus*, once in his *Nicias*, and probably uses him freely at other times, directly or indirectly, without mentioning his name, as in chapter x. 3 of the *Themistocles*, where he takes Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* as he found it cited in Philochorus. Such material as is found in *Cimon*, viii. 3–6, or *Pericles*, xxxvii. 4, probably goes back ultimately to Philochorus. His enormous literary activity came in the generation following Aristotle, whom he cites freely, as well as previous *Atthides*. It may well be, therefore, that Plutarch names the earlier *Atthis*-writers mainly as he finds them cited by Philochorus, or as he finds Philochorus cited in his biographical source.

Ephorus, a native of the Æolian city of Cyme, wrote a

universal history of Greeks and Barbarians from the Return of the Heracleidæ, or the "Dorian Invasion," down to the year 340 B. C. The great work belonged distinctly to the time of Alexander the Great. Ephorus was a pupil of the orator Isocrates, and applied to the narration of historical events the principles of formal rhetoric. The form was of more importance than the substance, and freely shaped the substance to its needs. For the periods of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, he used the material already furnished by Herodotus and Thucydides, but worked it over into a form which appealed to the rhetorical tastes of the fourth century. His work enjoyed an immense popularity, and became the standard history of the world. It has come down to us only in excerpts and fragments, and is principally known to us through the generous use made of it by the compiler Diodorus Siculus, who prepared a compend of universal history down to Cæsar's Gallic Wars, writing under Augustus. In the eleventh and twelfth books of this compend of Diodorus (xi. 37—xii. 40) the period of the *Pentecontaëtia* is treated, in the main after Ephorus, and so, ultimately, after Thucydides, though not without many and important variations on the part both of Ephorus and Diodorus. It is clear that Diodorus excerpts Ephorus in large sections. But it is also probable that he condenses at times, and certain that he adds some matter of his own composition, especially for purposes of juncture. In general, however, we may be reasonably confident that he reproduces Ephorus. Though a diligent student and collector of new material, Ephorus is a far less trustworthy guide than Thucydides, since he yields far more to the temptations of his rhetoric. His style is artificial in the extreme, diffuse and weak, and yet to his style he clearly sacrifices fidelity to facts and authorities. He invents outright where graphic details are wanting, and has stock descriptions of battles and sieges and storms which he carries over from century to century. Occasionally, however, he supplies us with authentic supplementary detail, which probably comes from Hellanicus, or some other re-

liable *Atthis*-writer. He was an extravagant admirer and partisan of Athens, going as far beyond the truth in praise of her as her enemies did in detraction. He did some violence to chronology in arranging events in groups according to their inner relationship, — a decided advance upon the pure annalistic method, wherein Thucydides had already improved upon Hellanicus. But Diodorus, in excerpting him, proceeds as though each of these groups of events could be assigned to a single year in his own rigid annalistic system. The result is chronological confusion.

To what fantastic perversions of history Ephorus can commit himself may be seen from his account of the victories of Cimon at the Eurymedon (*Cimon*, xii., xiii.), where even the uncritical Plutarch forsakes him for Callisthenes, whose account is perfectly sane and credible. Callisthenes of Olynthus was a relative and pupil of Aristotle, and wrote a *Hellenica*, or History of Greece, from the Peace of Antalcidas in 387 down to the seizure of the Delphic temple by Philomelus in 357. He afterwards accompanied Alexander as historian of his expedition, the end of which he did not live to see. Beginning his *Hellenica* with the shameful submission of the Greeks to Persia in the Peace of Antalcidas, he contrasted with it the glorious period when they carried the war into the enemy's own country, and by the victories of Cimon at the Eurymedon so humbled the Great King that he left the Ægean Sea and even the eastern Mediterranean free for Greek ships of war, and after 449 assented to the Peace of Callias. Whence Callisthenes obtained the manifestly authentic details of his story of Cimon's victories is uncertain. But there must have been a veracious tradition of them accessible to him in Hellanicus or Phanodemus and later *Atthis*-writers. His estimates of Alexander's achievements were more independent and sane than those of most of his contemporaries.

Very different from Ephorus in method and purpose was his fellow-pupil under Isocrates, Theopompus of Chios. He has, it is true, a formal, rhetorical style, by which he sets

great store. But the rhetorician does not prevail over the historian so much as in Ephorus. A stern aristocrat, he devoted, like Thucydides, years of exile and great wealth to securing the most accurate knowledge possible of the periods which he chronicled, namely, the years 411 to 394 B. C. in his *Hellenica*, a continuation of the history of Thucydides; and the career of Philip of Macedon in his *Philippica*, from 360 to 336 B. C. Both works, particularly the latter with its fifty-eight books, were storehouses of erudition, and their loss is one of the severest that Greek literature has sustained. The tenth book of the *Philippica* was devoted, by way of learned excursus, to the statesmen of Athens. Here Plutarch evidently found, directly or indirectly, much biographical material for his *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*. The judgments of Theopompus were harsh; he "loved to censure rather than to praise;" he protests against the vainglorious spirit of much Athenian tradition, as was natural in a writer of his political sympathies; he had none of that keen insight into affairs and the motives of men of affairs which characterizes such historians as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, who were themselves men of affairs; but in dignity, if not in conscientiousness and value, he far surpasses Ephorus. The discovery of an extensive fragment of the *Hellenica* in the papyri of Oxyrhynchus by the Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt enables us to judge with more confidence of the worth of Theopompus by comparison with Xenophon. Eduard Meyer (*Theopomps Hellenika*, Halle, 1909) thinks him "really a historian, and no rhetorician" (p. 155). Busolt (*Zur Glaubwuerdigkeit Theopomps*, Hermes, 1910, pp. 220–249) successfully calls this verdict in question.

Diodorus the Periegete, or Topographer, flourished toward the close of the fourth century B. C., and wrote works on the monuments and topography of Attica. Plutarch cites him in his *Themistocles*, xxxii. 3; *Theseus*, xxxvi.; and *Cimon*, xvi. 1.

Craterus the Macedonian, a son of Alexander's famous general of that name, and half-brother of King Antigonus Gona-

tas, flourished in the early part of the third century B. C., and distinguished himself as a careful compiler of original historical documents bearing on the history of Athens. He apparently wrote a political history of Athens based on these invaluable documents. He is much quoted by scholiasts and late lexicographers, and known only in this way. Plutarch speaks of his collections, to which he may have had access, in his *Aristides*, xxvi. 2, and *Cimon*, xiii. 6, and doubtless uses material furnished by him often without mentioning his name. Some spurious documents may have crept into the collections of Craterus, but in general his work must have been of the highest value, and it is always cited with respect, often in the same class with the *Atthis*-writers.

Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, so marvellously restored to us in recent years, and fully cited in the current notes of this volume, is clearly based on sources which are strongly anti-democratic, and represents the sentiments of the oligarchical faction at Athens toward the close of the Peloponnesian War. Its estimates of Cimon and Pericles should be rated with those of Stesimbrotus.

Phanias, of Eresos in Lesbos, a fellow-citizen and friend of Theophrastus, as well as a disciple of Aristotle, indeed, his most distinguished pupil after Theophrastus, wrote voluminously on logic, physics, history, and literature. Plutarch compliments his erudition in chapter xiii. of the *Themistocles*, and borrows gladly from his sensational stores piquant stories and tales of dreams and wonders. Though he does not mention Phanias by name in the *Cimon*, he probably draws from him the material in chapter xviii. which has to do with dreams and portents, since the *Cimon* was composed immediately after the *Themistocles*. Just what the work was which Plutarch uses so freely and gladly in the *Themistocles*, and probably also in the *Cimon*, is not known. Among the historical works attributed to Phanias were a chronological history of Greece, arranged by annual officers of Eresos; a history of Sicilian tyrants; and a work on the assassination of tyrants. All the Peripatetic philosophers seem to have been collectors

rather than sifters of historical material, and Phanias was apparently a historical romancer, in a daring and fascinating vein.

Panætius the Philosopher, who is cited in chapter iv. 9 of the *Cimon* as attributing to Archelaus the anonymous consolatory poem addressed to Cimon, is doubtless the Stoic philosopher, a native of Rhodes, who was a pupil of Diogenes the Babylonian, at Athens, and chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, where an important part of his life was spent as an intimate friend of the younger Scipio. He won many influential Romans over to his teachings. He seems to have succeeded Polybius in the counsels of Scipio, whom he accompanied on a mission to Alexandria and the East in 143. He showed a rare critical attitude towards the loose and romantic traditions of history, and wrote essays on ethical themes like those of Plutarch's *Morals*. He was thus, both in career and literary inclinations, an author sure to be congenial to Plutarch, and well known to him directly. He died at Athens, as head of the Stoic school there, about 110 B. C.

Much rare and learned material regarding the family relations of Cimon, which Plutarch uses in chapters iv. and xvi. of his *Life*, can be traced through the scholia on an oration of Aristides, the great rhetorician of the second century A. D., in defence of "The Four," *i. e.* Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, to Didymus, surnamed *Chalkenteros*. Didymus was a learned and celebrated Alexandrian grammarian, of the school of Aristarchus, who flourished in the times of Augustus. Between three and four thousand works are attributed to him, all of which are lost. But he was a mine of wealth for subsequent scholiasts and compilers. He evidently investigated with the most minute care, and with boundless resources at his command, the question of Cimon's ostracism, which led him into all sorts of learned detail about Cimon's family. The biographical source which Plutarch adopts as the basis of his own work had utilized this material which Didymus had patiently collected, and Plutarch incorporates it into his *Life*, if we follow the conclusions of Eduard

Meyer. It is, of course, possible, that Plutarch uses Didymus directly, without naming him, just as he uses Æschines the Orator in chapters vii. and viii. without naming him. The matter of most concern to us is that Plutarch has used most excellent material, and imparted to it his own genial spirit.

He has not produced with it such a masterpiece of ethical portraiture as the *Themistocles* or the *Pericles*. Indeed, the *Cimon*, like the *Aristides*, is a rather perfunctory performance, — "hack work turned out to complete a pair," as the Rt. Hon. George Wyndham has called it. It is clear from the Introduction (chap. iii.) that he first selected for this third pair[1] of his *Lives* Lucullus, the great forerunner of Pompey and Cæsar, whose careers were still dominant in the minds and converse of men when Plutarch was resident at Rome. Associations with Plutarch's native city of Chæroneia made Lucullus a welcome subject for biography, and in portraying his character and career Plutarch reaches nearly his highest level of excellence. Cimon is diligently sought out to complete the pair, but his remoteness from Plutarch's own times and the comparative dimness of his personality conspire to render him a less sympathetic personage for his biographer. Still, the *Cimon* is far superior to the *Aristides*, and contains far less general history forced into personal relations. And again, as in the case of the *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, since the principle of paralleling a Greek with a Roman is acknowledged to be the least successful of Plutarch's contributions to biography, no apology is needed for comparing and contrasting in one volume two Greeks who were intimately associated with each other and strong rivals of one another in a crucial period of their country's history. Themistocles and Aristides were the two opposing spirits in the incipient Athenian democracy of the period of the Persian invasions; Cimon and Pericles in the culminating democracy of the

[1] See Introduction to the *Themistocles and Aristides*, p. 9. The lost *Epaminondas-Scipio* was his first, *Themistocles-Camillus* his second, and *Pericles-Fabius* his tenth pair of *Lives*.

period of the *Pentecontaëtia;* and Nicias and Alcibiades in the decadent democracy of the Peloponnesian War. It is much more instructive, historically at least, to contrast such powerful political rivals as Cimon and Pericles, than to force comparisons between Cimon and Lucullus, or Pericles and Fabius Maximus; to contrast Nicias and Alcibiades, than to compare Nicias with Crassus, or Alcibiades with Coriolanus.

The Introduction to the *Cimon,* chapters i.–iii., shows Plutarch at his happiest and best, abounding as it does in local Chæroneian touches, and based as it is on Chæroneian monuments and traditions with which Plutarch is perfectly familiar from his own personal experience. There was a statue of Lucullus in the market-place of Chæroneia commemorating certain benefits which he had conferred upon the city; Plutarch will make a character-portrait of the man to express his own gratitude for the services that man had rendered to his beloved city.

Following the conventional form of the biography, Plutarch then speaks in chapter iv. of Cimon's birth, family, and education. There was evidently some dearth of material on these points, because Cimon must have been born in the Thracian Chersonese, while his father, Miltiades, was tyrant there, and have come to Athens, shortly before 490, as a youth of nearly twenty years. Plutarch does not, therefore, as he does in the cases of Themistocles, Aristides, and Pericles, mention at once the deme and tribe to which Miltiades belonged. An Athenian citizen was individualized first by his own name, then by that of his father, then of his deme, and then of his tribe. Thus: Themistocles, son of Neocles, of the deme Phrearrhi, of the tribe Leontis. This apparatus of nomenclature is rather noticeably absent in Cimon's case, and it is only incidentally, in § 2, that we learn that Miltiades belonged to the deme of *Lakiadæ.* For Plutarch, Cimon's history practically begins at the death of his father, in 488. Left fatherless (and evidently motherless), he had no further education, but led a dissolute and irregular life, dwelling with his sister, Elpinice. After she had acquired prominence

and political influence, and used her powers to further the career of her brother, calumny gathered about her relations with prominent men, and even, retrospectively, about her earlier relations with her brother. The chapter as a whole is a marvellous blend of late scandalous tradition learnedly compiled by Didymus *Chalkenteros* (p. 44), with stock biographical material and ornamental literary citations. It is impossible to mark out the line of Plutarch's independent activity, or to say how far the process of blending is due to him or to the "traditional biography" which he adopts as the basis for his own work. An attempt is made in the current notes to sift out the authentic from the fabulous material.

In chapter v. Plutarch follows still further the conventional method of biography and speaks of Cimon's character and presence, giving us a charming union of stock biographical material with authentic incidents and details which are in all probability due to Ion of Chios (p. 36).

In chapters vi.–xviii., the bulk of the biography, Plutarch gives us, in the traditional manner, his hero's deeds and achievements, interspersing with anecdotes or reflections more or less germane. Chapter vi. is Plutarch's edition of standard or vulgate biography, which is wholly Thucydidean, describing Cimon's winning of the leadership over the allies for Athens; to which is somewhat abruptly fastened a famous story about Pausanias and Cleonice which "has been told by many," and found its way into Plutarch's note-books. Chapter vii. describes Cimon's capture of the stronghold of Eïon from the Persians, in language based, either by Plutarch himself or by some standard biography which he is using, upon famous passages in Herodotus and Thucydides, to which is added, by way of effective climax, a set of authentic inscriptions relative to the great exploit. These Plutarch probably found in the most famous oration of Æschines, "Against Ctesiphon," which he had read in preparation for his *Life* of Demosthenes. In chapter viii. we have first (§§ 1, 2) Plutarch's "improvement" of the inscriptions, — the lessons to be drawn from them; then (§§ 3–6) Cimon's capture of Scy-

ros and restoration to Athens of the bones of Theseus, where corresponding passages in the *Theseus* show that so good an author as Philochorus is the ultimate source; and lastly (§§ 7, 8) that famous story of the poet Sophocles' first dramatic victory, which is good enough to have been told by Ion of Chios, but bears the marks of later invention. Chapter ix., by way of interlude, contains choice evidence from Ion of Chios of Cimon's after-dinner song and story. Chapter x. deals with the princely generosity of Cimon, evidently a much handled theme, for the material of §§ 1–5 is largely common to Theopompus and Aristotle, who may have derived it ultimately from Ion of Chios, and has been embellished with learned citations from Cratinus, Gorgias, and Critias, probably for Plutarch, not by him; but §§ 5–9 are clearly Plutarch's very own, beginning with the natural transition from the Arcesilaus of Critias to the Lichas of Thucydides and Xenophon, including a favorite comparison to the Saturnian age, and concluding with a fatherless anecdote which is good enough to have come from Ion. Chapter xi., on the gradual drift of the Confederacy of Delos into an Athenian Empire, is stock and standard improvement of Thucydides. Chapters xii. and xiii., giving us the authentic and spirited account of the glorious victories of Cimon at the Eurymedon which we miss so keenly in Thucydides, show us either Plutarch, or the excellent source which he adopts, abandoning the highly sensational and clearly untrustworthy account of Ephorus in favor of Callisthenes, whose words ring true and endure tests; in xiii. 5–6 Callisthenes is grievously misunderstood by Plutarch in order to be gently corrected, and in §§ 7–8 he is supplemented by trustworthy material from some antiquarian source like Diodorus the Topographer or Philochorus. Chapter xiv. presents us with an item from some lost *Atthis*-writer like Hellanicus about Cimon's conquest of the Thracian Chersonese; then with an account of the siege of Thasos which adds evidently authentic material, — possibly from the same *Atthis*, to the Thucydidean basis; and lastly with vivid details about the prosecution of Cimon

for bribery, which come from Stesimbrotus who is, and, possibly, from Ion who is not named. Chapter xv. gives us, in decidedly oligarchical strains which voice Plutarch's own political sympathies, Cimon's relations to the humiliation of the Council of the Areiopagus, supplementing with learned comment drawn from the same work of Didymus which was so generously employed in chapter iv.; and so far the chapter seems to be a rather confused blend by Plutarch of standard biography and learned comment; but no one can doubt that the closing *naïveté* is Plutarch's very own. Chapter xvi. deals with the Spartan sympathies of Cimon, beginning (§ 1) with more of the learned comment of Didymus on the family of Cimon which he takes from Stesimbrotus and Diodorus the Topographer; continuing (§§ 2, 3) with characterizations of Cimon which savor of Ion, who is not, and of Stesimbrotus, who is named; including a graphic account (§§ 4–7) of the great earthquake at Sparta which enlarges and improves upon Ephorus; and concluding with a vivid description of the debate at Athens on the Spartan appeal for aid, wherein Ion, Aristophanes, and Critias are cited by name; the whole forming one of those gorgeous historical mosaics which abound in Plutarch's *Lives*, and of which it is safest to say merely that though the resultant blend is due to Plutarch, most of the material was collected and prepared for him, not by him. Chapter xvii. begins (§ 1) with an anecdote of Cimon's retort to the Corinthian protest against his march through the Isthmus, which may well have come ultimately from Ion; continues (§ 2) with an account of Cimon's ostracism, wherein a curious doubling of his expedition to Messenia is perpetrated by Plutarch, misled by his own careless phraseology in a previous paragraph; and concludes (§§ 3–6) with a graphic account of the battle of Tanagra and the resultant recall of Cimon from his banishment, wherein the vulgate history based upon Thucydides is reinforced by personal details which savor of Ion. Chapter xviii. gives us Cimon's last campaign, improving the vulgate history based upon Thucydides, and citing from Phanias, probably, much matter pertaining to dreams

and portents; using erroneously also Plutarch's own material in the *Themistocles* for §§ 5–6, in order to bring once more into contrast the two great "masters of the sea."

Chapter xix., finally, treats of Cimon's death, burial, and subsequent reputation, after the fixed order of biography. General and vulgate history is supplemented by a citation from an almost unknown (and certainly misnamed) rhetorician, Naucrates, who testifies to a cenotaph of Cimon at Citium, on Cyprus, off the coasts of which he died.

Taking it then for all in all, the *Cimon*, while inferior in artistic merit to many other *Lives*, is second to none but the *Pericles* in the wealth of welcome authentic material for history which it has preserved from oblivion for us. And even in artistic merit there are not wanting those who would place it high up in the second grade of Plutarch's masterpieces. To it we owe the power of reconstructing a personality in the great years of Athens which was not unlike that of England's Nelson.

Alphabetical List of Authorities cited by Plutarch in the *Cimon*.

Archelaus . . . . . IV. 1, 9
Aristophanes . . . . . XVI. 7
Aristotle . . . . . X. 2
Callisthenes . . XII. 4; XIII. 5
Craterus . . . . . XIII. 6
Cratinus . . . . . X. 3
Critias . . . . . X. 5; XVI. 8
Diodorus the Topographer . XVI. 1
Ephorus . . . . . XII. 4, 5
Eupolis . . . . . XV. 3
Euripides . . . . . IV. 4
Gorgias . . . . . X. 5
Ion of Chios V. 3; IX. 1; XVI. 8
Melanthius . . . . IV. 1, 6, 8
Nausicrates . . . . . XIX. 4
Panætius . . . . . IV. 9
Phanodemus . . XII. 5; XIX. 1
Stesimbrotus . . IV. 4; XIV. 4; XVI. 1, 3

V. THE SOURCES OF PLUTARCH IN HIS *PERICLES*, WITH AN ANALYSIS OF THIS *LIFE*

The *Pericles* of Plutarch is a far riper product than his *Cimon*, has more plan and method, and the bountiful material out of which it is constructed is far better assimilated. Like the *Cimon* it has a special historical value in that it preserves

for us precious authentic testimonies which supplement Thucydides. To Themistocles and Pericles Thucydides devoted especial attention in attempts to rescue their fame from calumnious traditions. In the case of Themistocles we get glimpses of the calumnies which obscured his fame in Herodotus and Stesimbrotus; in the case of Pericles it is the comic poets and Stesimbrotus who echo the meaner voices of bitter political strife. In each case, while reproducing the defamatory material against which Thucydides lifts such noble protest, Plutarch is in the main, though less in the *Pericles* than in the *Themistocles*, true to the spirit of the Thucydidean estimate. He gives us that body of slanderous abuse which Thucydides could not deign to notice except by way of lofty protest. He also gives us, as in the *Cimon*, items of history from authentic and trustworthy annalists which fill out the meagre outlines of what in Thucydides was intended to be merely a preliminary sketch, since only the last five years of the life of Pericles properly fell within the limits of the subject he had chosen, namely, the Peloponnesian War.

It is probable that in his *Pericles*, as in his *Cimon*, Plutarch bases his work upon a standard biography, or upon standard biographical material wherein much learned compilation lay ready to his hand. But this material is much more successfully fused in the *Pericles* with Plutarch's own contributions, and the result is far more homogeneous than in the *Cimon*, — more like the *Themistocles*. It is consequently far more difficult to trace here the dividing lines between the work of the author and that of his "traditional biography." But this does not prevent this *Life* from being, as Adolf Holm has said (*History of Greece*, ii. p. 116), "one of the most valuable historical works of antiquity," for which, whatever other conclusions may be reached, Plutarch used, and used himself, many and good sources. "While his *Cimon* is more in the nature of a character-sketch with illustrations, his *Pericles* is a genuine biography." His composition here is certainly a web and not a patchwork.

Plutarch cites by name in his *Pericles* twenty-two authors, of whom five furnish him with merely ornamental citations, namely, Antisthenes (i. 5), Archilochus (xxviii. 5), Critolaus (vii. 5), Timon of Phlius (iv. 3), and Zeno (v. 4). These will therefore be more properly spoken of in the current notes. The remaining seventeen furnish him, directly or indirectly, with material for his *Life*. Besides these definite authors, he speaks once of a tale as "told in the schools of philosophy" (xxxv. 2); six times cites the "Comic Poets" in general; once draws from his own *Life* of Lysander (xxii. 3); and as many as thirty times uses one of those vague phrases of reference which may mean a "cloud of witnesses" or a single source, like "it is said," "it would seem," "some say," *etc.* As for the *Cimon*, a brief characterization will now be given of all the possible sources for the material of the *Pericles*, whether named by Plutarch or not, arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, excepting, of course, those which are sources also for the *Cimon*, and so have already been described. These are Thucydides and Hellanicus (pp. 2–6), Ion (p. 36), Stesimbrotus (p. 36), Theopompus (p. 42), and Ephorus (p. 40).

The allusions of the comic poets to Cimon, so far as we can now judge them, were retrospective (see p. 35). He was a hero of the good old times, of which Old Comedy was a consistent laudator, allied as it was with, and serving as the mouth-piece of, the rural and conservative rather than the city and radical democracy. On innovations and innovators, however, it heaped its mordant abuse, and Pericles was the arch-innovator. Pericles died before Aristophanes, easily the king of Old Comedy and the only comic poet whose plays are preserved for us, began to produce his plays, and the allusions to him by Aristophanes are therefore like those of older comic poets to Cimon in being retrospective. Other and far more vulnerable statesmen than Pericles were at the helm when Aristophanes wrote, and, innovator as he was, Pericles was preferable to Cleon even for an Aristophanes. But he speaks with evident admiration

of Thucydides, son of Melesias, the political opponent of Pericles, and appeals for the laugh in making Pericles enact the Megarian decree and set ablaze the Peloponnesian War merely to cover up a defalcation of Pheidias or revenge an affront to Aspasia. And yet even to him, as to other comic poets, Pericles was "The Olympian," and his eloquence was like the fiery bolts of Zeus. Similarly retrospective are the allusions to Pericles, so far as we can know them, in the contemporaries and rivals of Aristophanes, Eupolis and Plato. For Cratinus, Hermippus, and Telecleides, however, the elder comic poets, Pericles was a living power for evil, and they railed at him as the modern opposition press rails at political opponents. It was not, however, political discussion, but political lampooning to amuse an audience the greater part of which had a liking for the old ways rather than the new. Of Hermippus and Telecleides we know hardly more than that they were predecessors of Aristophanes and continuators of Cratinus. Of Cratinus we know much more, thanks to Aristophanes himself, who, in the *Parabasis* to his *Knights* (vv. 520–550), gives pen-portraits of three of his predecessors whose experiences at the hands of the people are lessons to him. Of these three, Magnes and Crates are not represented in the farrago of citations from the comic poets which are preserved for us in Plutarch's *Pericles*. But Cratinus plays a major part. And as he was clearly the greatest poet of Old Comedy before Aristophanes, it will surely not be amiss to have here his portrait as painted by his successor, that we may know what sort of men it was who drove even the calm Pericles to measures of reprisal in a decree prohibiting comedy from representing public men upon its stage. This decree was enacted shortly after the Samian War broke out (440), and remained in force for three years, — the three years when Pericles was at the pinnacle of his prestige and power.

> "Then he saw, for a sample, the dismal example
> Of noble Cratinus so splendid and ample,
> Full of spirit and blood, and enlarged like a flood;
> Whose copious current tore down with its torrent

Oaks, ashes, and yew, with the ground where they grew,
And his rivals to boot, wrenched up by the root;
And his personal foes who presumed to oppose,
All drowned and abolished, dispersed and demolished,
And drifted headlong with a deluge of song.
And his airs and his tunes, and his songs and lampoons,
Were recited and sung by the old and the young, —
At our feasts and carousals what poet but he?
And 'The Fair Amphibribe,' and 'The Sycophant Tree,'
'Masters and Masons and Builders of Verse,' —
Those were the tunes that all tongues could rehearse;
But since in decay, you have cast him away,
Stript of his stops and his musical strings,
Battered and shattered, a broken old instrument,
Shoved out of sight among rubbishy things.
His garlands are faded, and what he deems worst,
His tongue and his palate are parching with thirst;
And now you may meet him alone in the street,
Wearied and worn, tattered and torn,
All decayed and forlorn in his person and dress;
Whom his former success should exempt from distress
With subsistence at large at the general charge,
And a seat with the great at the table of state,
There to feast every day, and preside at the play
In splendid apparel, triumphant and gay." (Frere.)

This is a picture of a man of exuberant genius and joyous life, who had outworn his welcome and been turned adrift with his thirst. The picture was exhibited in 424. In that year the aged poet won the second prize, and in the following year took exemplary revenge upon his young supplanter and detractor by winning the first, with a play which confessed his weakness while exhibiting his strength. Cratinus may perhaps not unfairly be taken as a type of his class, — the Comic Poets, whom Plutarch calls (xiii. 11) "men of wanton life." They delighted in finding matter for ridicule in all that was most admired, whether in public morals, politics, or art and letters. Exaggeration, gross exaggeration, was the basis of their success, but beneath their exaggeration there had to be a real foundation of truth to make their exaggeration successful. And when it is remem-

bered that comedy arose in connection with a rural religious festival, and like tragedy was part of the worship of Dionysus the Lord of Life, the Lord of Death, and the Great Inspirer, it is not impossible to think of the Attic Drama with its two vehicles of tragedy and comedy as in great measure answering in power, as an organ of public opinion, to the modern pulpit and press. When, however, Attic tragedy or comedy is brought into evidence as historical documents, these documents must be carefully studied in the light of their origin and purpose. To have been unsparingly and continuously attacked and ridiculed by the comic poets, "of whom to be dispraised were no small praise," does not make Pericles less of a statesman or Euripides less of a poet. It points rather to their real greatness in new and fruitful lines of endeavor. And in the case of Pericles we can set over against the laughter-seeking scurrilities of the comic poets the conscientious vindication of him by Thucydides the historian.

Æschines the Socratic was an ardent disciple of Socrates, and not without genuine ability, though eclipsed by his more brilliant and fashionable fellow-pupil Plato. He is mentioned by Plato as among those present at the Master's condemnation and death. He was abjectly poor, and on returning from a sojourn at the court of Dionysius the Younger at Syracuse, about 356, gave private instruction at Athens for pay. He won distinction with his Socratic dialogues, seven in number, which reproduced to perfection the manner of the Socratic conversation. They were so good that his enemies alleged that he had stolen them from Socrates with the complicity of Xanthippe. Among these dialogues was a *Callias*, of which Plutarch makes use in his *Aristides*, xxv. 3–6; and an *Aspasia*, from which doubtless come many of the details in *Pericles*, xxiv. None of his genuine dialogues are now extant.

Of the five citations from Plato the Philosopher in the *Pericles*, two are for purely ornamental purposes (vii. 6; xv. 4); one is from the *Menexenus*, and deals with Aspasia (xxiv. 4); one seeks to define the power which Pericles got

from his association with Anaxagoras (viii. 1); and one (where Plato is not mentioned) alludes to a statement of the Socrates in the *Gorgias* of Plato that he heard Pericles introduce a bill providing for the third long wall of Athens (xiii. 5). But it is well known that the great author of the *Republic* and the *Laws* had no proper appreciation of, or sympathy with the Athenian democracy of the fifth century and the ideals of the Age of Cimon and the Age of Pericles. The ideal state of which he wrote was possible only, if desirable at all, in pure theory, and he measured the irresistible political currents which had carried Athens into the extreme democracy of the fifth century by the narrow standards of private ethics and morality. Themistocles, Miltiades, Cimon, Pericles, were none of them "good citizens," for they "filled the city full of harbors and docks and walls and revenues and all that, and left no room for justice and temperance" (*Gorgias*, 519 A). And yet Pericles was "magnificent in his wisdom" (*Meno*, 94 B). But it must be remembered that the historical material in the dialogues of Plato is almost wholly used to illustrate political or ethical theory. The writer is not concerned with historical truth so much as with appositeness of illustration.

Of the five citations of Aristotle, one (iv. 1) is probably a slip of the pen for Plato; two (xxvi. 3; xxviii. 1) are to be referred with probability to the lost *Constitution of Samos;* and two (ix. 2; x. 7) with certainty to the *Constitution of Athens*. Of these enough is said in previous chapters of the Introduction (pp. 5, 43) and in the current notes.

Theophrastus, the most famous pupil, and the successor of Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy, is cited thrice in the *Pericles* (xxiii. 1; xxxv. 4; xxxviii. 2). The Peripatetic school of philosophers, in the historical and biographical work which they incidentally cultivated, seem to have culled from all sorts of sources striking anecdotes of great historical personages, without much critical acumen. Their main work lay in other fields. A work of Theophrastus "On Lives" was a mine of citation for Plutarch in his

Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades, and other *Lives.* Like Aristotle and Theopompus, he betrays the bias of the oligarchical partisan. His main endeavor was to supplement and complete the work of Aristotle in the field of natural history. His only extant work is the *Characters,* if that be an independent work, and not a collection of extracts from ethical writings. This contains thirty sketches of types of Athenian character in the age of Alexander the Great. The life of Theophrastus falls within the years 373–284 B. C.

Heracleides of Pontus was a pupil of both Plato and Aristotle, and a voluminous writer on all possible subjects, including historical. Plutarch cites him (*Morals,* 1086 F; 1115 A) among the great names of the Academic and Peripatetic schools in a manner which, considering the special studies of Plutarch, would imply personal and direct acquaintance with him, as would also his citation from and comment upon him in the *Camillus* (chap. xxii.). After speaking of the capture of Rome by the Gauls under Brennus in 390 B. C., Plutarch says: "Of the calamity itself and of the fact of the capture, some faint rumors seem to have passed at the time into Greece. Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after these times, in his book 'Upon the Soul,' relates that a certain report came from the West, that an army, proceeding from the Hyperboræans, had taken a Greek city called Rome, seated somewhere upon the great sea. But I do not wonder that so fabulous and high-flown an author as Heracleides should embellish the truth of the story with expressions about Hyperboræans and the great sea." Cicero thought him learned but superstitious and uncritical. None of his works have been preserved, and it is impossible to conjecture which of them is used in the citations in the *Pericles* (xxvii. 3; xxxv. 4).

Athens was by no means alone in developing the class of antiquarian literature known as *Atthides* (see p. 39). Almost every Greek community of importance had such treatises devoted to it, and we may assume that they were all utilized in the great collection of *Constitutions* of Greek

states by Aristotle, of which the *Constitution of Samos* was one, and the *Constitution of Athens* the only one that has come down to us. Duris, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and for a time tyrant of Samos, lived from about 350 to about 280, and besides a History of Greece from 370 to 281, wrote an *Annals of Samos*, which is frequently referred to, and contained many incidents of the *Pentecontaëtia* and Peloponnesian War. They were clothed in the most elaborate rhetoric, and were full of sensational and manifestly unhistorical material. Plutarch disparages his style and doubts his veracity, and still, as in the cases of Phanias and Idomeneus, finds welcome material in his writings. He cites him in the *Alcibiades* (chap. xxxii.) for material which he scorns as history but welcomes for its color.

Idomeneus of Lampsacus is an author to whom Plutarch is under special obligations in the *Aristides*. He is cited only twice in the *Pericles* (x. 6; xxxv. 4), the first time with great disparagement. Idomeneus was a pupil and friend of Epicurus (*ob.* 270), but a degenerate disciple of his great master. Apparently to palliate the wantonness of his own life, he collected alleged instances of wantonness in the great men of the past. The higher the eminence of the man, the more emphatic the lesson of his lapses and falls. Hence the union of adulation and slander in the traces we get of his biographical work in Plutarch and the *collectanea* of Athenæus. He wrote a biographical work "On the Socratics," and another "On the Demagogues." In the latter, of course, Pericles would be treated. He is linked with Duris the Samian in Plutarch's *Demosthenes* (chap. xxiii.), and both are set over against "the most and best historians." Still we find that he is to Plutarch in the *Aristides* what Phanias is in the *Themistocles*, — a welcome source for much sensational material which his better judgment tells him is of dubious value.

What Plutarch says about Gylippus in chapter xxii. is borrowed from his *Life* of Lysander, where Timæus is given as his source. Timæus, of Tauromenium in Sicily, the son

of the tyrant of that city, was banished from Sicily by the tyrant Agathocles, and spent a long exile at Athens, where he wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest times down to the year 264 B. C. His life falls between the years 350 and 250 B. C. Polybius, who makes extended use of his work, accuses him of every fault which a bad historian can possess, probably with justice, though Cicero praises his learning and style. His work is known to us only in fragments. Like that of Theopompus, it seems to have been a storehouse of learned research, but full of the gross perversions of ambitious rhetoric.

Chapters i.–ii. form the Introduction to the pair *Pericles-Fabius Maximus*. It is much shorter, much less dramatic, and much less effective than the Introduction to the *Cimon-Lucullus*, — rather tame in fact. The mind can determine the objects of its study; it should therefore fix upon such objects as will edify and inspire to imitation. Such objects are the deeds of virtue, — such deeds as those of Pericles and Fabius. It is needless to say that in the Introductions and Comparisons, at the opening and close of a given pair of *Lives*, we have Plutarch pure and simple, unencumbered by material from any "source."

Chapter iii. deals with the birth and personal appearance of Pericles. There can be no doubt that §§ 1 and 2 blend the stock details of the tribe and deme of Pericles with the famous digression of Herodotus (vi. 131) in allusion to "the Lion of the House of Xanthippus." To this is added a reference to the undue length of the head of Pericles, most naïvely taken by Plutarch as a reason why the portrait busts of the statesman usually wore the helmet, reinforced by a learned array of citations from poets of the Old Comedy which some learned commentator like Didymus *Chalkenteros* (p. 44) made for the use of Plutarch or his biographical source.

Chapter iv. deals with the education of Pericles. It consists of material to be found in Plato (*Alcibiades I*, 118, 119) and in the learned comment of the scholiasts thereon. We detect in § 1 a possible slip of the pen (Aristotle for Plato),

and in § 3 a probable misunderstanding of Plato. Considering Plutarch's devotion to Plato, there is nothing violent or improbable in the assumption that the chapter is the result of Plutarch's own reading of Plato with learned commentary. Pericles was a disciple of Anaxagoras, though he had various earlier teachers.

Chapters v. and vi. describe the character and bearing of Pericles. The material is derived from Plato (*Phædrus*, 270 A), with learned comment thereon, and from manifestly authentic contemporary testimony like that of Ion (who is cited by name in v. 3); but Plutarch's additions to the material, as he works it into pleasing shape, are plainly large. All of chapter vi. except the anecdote may safely be attributed to him. Pericles was grave, self-composed, and of lofty, but not arrogant dignity.

Chapters vii.–xxxvii. constitute the bulk of the biography, and treat of the public life and achievements of Pericles, first (vii.–xiv.) before, and second (xv.–xxxvii.) after he became undisputed leader of the people by the ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias. Chapter vii., on the youth of Pericles and his entrance into public life, would seem to be an independent blend by Plutarch himself of stock biographical detail, authentic contemporary anecdote such as might come from Ion or Stesimbrotus, and ornamental literary citations. The likeness to Peisistratus, and all that is made to depend upon it, may well be late inference from the taunts of the comic poets (xvi. 1). Naturally little was known about Pericles until he antagonized Cimon. It looks like invention to account for this lack of knowledge when it is said that there was little to know, since an unfortunate resemblance to Peisistratus kept the youthful Pericles out of public life for fear of ostracism. And a naïve inconsistency runs through the whole chapter in making a grave and timid young man, in order that he may avoid ostracism, court the favor of the people by becoming graver and more exclusive still. Plutarch is clearly blending here unsuccessfully the Aristotelian and Thucydidean conceptions of Pericles, as elsewhere in the *Life*.

Chapter viii. describes the eloquence of Pericles, using the best contemporary evidence, such as the comic poets, or Ion and Stesimbrotus, and embellishing with quotation from Plato. The words of Pericles clothed lofty thoughts, and were irresistibly persuasive. In chapter ix. 1, Plutarch contrasts the Thucydidean and the Platonic estimates of the statesmanship of Pericles, and, unwilling to reject either, initiates a long argument to show that both were true,—that of Plato for his earlier political career, that of Thucydides for his later. The argument is concluded in chapter xv. In the remainder of chapter ix. Plutarch deftly combines learned comment on Plato, *Gorgias*, 515, with similar material already used in his *Cimon*, chapters x. and xv. It is hardly conceivable that this combination is other than his own. Pitted against the wealthy and generous Cimon, Pericles followed shrewd advice in using the public wealth for distribution among the people, and thus secured the humiliation of the Council of the Areiopagus and the ostracism of Cimon. In chapter x. Plutarch abridges material already used in his *Cimon*, chapter xvii., and supplements it with anecdotes from Stesimbrotus, and a malicious accusation of Idomeneus. Cimon was recalled from banishment on motion of Pericles, because of the devotion to the state which he and his followers showed at the battle of Tanagra. In chapter xi. Plutarch gives a vivid sketch of the political rivalry between Pericles and Thucydides, son of Melesias, drawn largely, no doubt, from the tract of Stesimbrotus (*On Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles*), but softened down into agreement with Plutarch's political sympathies, and supplemented with items from stock and standard biography. To withstand the growing power of Pericles, the aristocrats put forward Thucydides as their champion, who organized and successfully led a strong party of opposition, whence Pericles was led even more to devise expedients for gratifying and supporting the people, such as festivals, colonizing expeditions, and great public works. In chapter xii. Plutarch surpasses himself in a vivacious description of the building activities at Athens under Pericles, and

intersperses what may well be thought authentic reports of great debates in the Athenian assembly on the wisdom and justice of such expenditure of public moneys, drawn probably from Ion or Stesimbrotus. In chapter xiii. 1–3, Plutarch characterizes the public edifices built under Pericles in glowing words, the originality of which can be doubted by no one. In §§ 4–9 he enumerates and describes them, using material furnished him by some antiquarian writer like Philochorus. In §§ 10–12 he passes again, as if for effective contrast, to the abuse heaped upon Pericles by the comic poets and Stesimbrotus, using material collected for a discussion of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, from which he draws again and at greater length in chapters xxxi. and xxxii. In chapter xiv. Plutarch reverts to the subject and the sources of xii., naïvely making the discussion over the last appropriation of moneys for public works before the ostracism of Thucydides apply to all the appropriations under Pericles.

Chapter xv. begins the description of the achievements of Pericles after he became supreme in the state, and brings to conclusion the line of thought begun in ix. 1. Having achieved political supremacy, Pericles became another man, — the man described by Thucydides instead of the man described by Plato. This line of thought seems to be original with Plutarch, and is his naïve way of harmonizing conflicting sources, for both of which he has high regard. By way of a musical metaphor Plutarch passes from the contemporary sources for chapters xii.–xiv. into the atmosphere of the eulogium on Pericles by Thucydides (ii. 65), embellishing with Platonic thoughts and phrases. In chapter xvi. Plutarch dwells still farther on the unrestricted power of Pericles, corroborating testimony of Thucydides with that of the comic poets, which he found ready to hand in the learned comment from which he drew in chapters vii. and viii. He adds what has the appearance of being good contemporary evidence as to the administration of the household of Pericles, and an otherwise unused anecdote of Pericles and Anaxagoras. In each case we are led to think of Ion or Stesimbrotus as the

ultimate source. Chapter xvii. preserves for us knowledge of an attempt of Pericles to secure a Pan-Hellenic conference at Athens for deliberation on common religious and maritime interests. Though the setting is clearly due to Plutarch, the important nucleus of the chapter doubtless rests on documentary evidence at his command in Craterus. In chapters xviii.–xxi. Plutarch describes freely and without any regard to chronology various military expeditions of Pericles which illustrate his caution, humanity, and conservative spirit. So far as the essential details of these chapters go, they are mostly to be found in Thucydides and Ephorus (Diodorus), but Plutarch evidently used, either directly or indirectly, an Ephorus much more complete than we have in the compilation of Diodorus, — an Ephorus who supplemented Thucydides with items from Hellanicus. He also had access, directly or indirectly, to the compilation of public decrees by Craterus. In this way it happens that we are indebted to Plutarch for our only knowledge of so important an event as the Pontic expedition of Pericles (xx.). And we find in chapter xxi. that Thucydides has been supplemented from some trustworthy archæological writer like Philochorus. Chapters xxii. and xxiii. set forth the consummate skill with which Pericles meets the great catastrophes of the year 446, in language which presents an indistinguishable blend of Thucydides with later historians like Ephorus, Theopompus, and Timæus. The latter historian is cited by Plutarch in the statements about Gylippus which he takes from his own *Lysander*. In chapter xxiv. Plutarch begins his account of the Samian War, but is immediately drawn aside into an excursus on Aspasia, for which Plato's *Menexenus*, the dialogue of Æschines the Socratic entitled *Aspasia*, and the comic poets furnish the material. This Plutarch probably found ready to his hand in learned commentary on Plato, or some learned biographical source. Chapters xxv.–xxviii. give a fuller account of the Samian War than can be found elsewhere. We find the account in Thucydides supplemented generously from Ephorus, Ion, Stesimbrotus, and Duris of

Samos. Some of the additional matter is evidently authentic, much is sensational and worthless. Chapters xxix.–xxxii. discuss the causes of the Peloponnesian War. Here Thucydides becomes full and satisfying, but Plutarch forsakes him for a composite of Ephorus, Stesimbrotus, and learned comment on Plato's *Menexenus*, in which Craterus and Philochorus are represented. Chapters xxxiii.–xxxv. give the activity of Pericles during the first two years of the Peloponnesian War, and down to his deposition from command, in language which is, on the whole, an admirable biographical condensation of Thucydides, which Plutarch may have found ready to his hand in some accepted biography, embellished with a citation from the comic poet Hermippus and an anecdote told "in the schools of philosophy." Chapter xxxvi. details the private sorrows and afflictions of Pericles in language evidently based on such contemporary witnesses as Ion and Stesimbrotus. Chapter xxxvii. relates the restoration of Pericles to his command and his request that his law regulating admission to citizenship be suspended in favor of his son by Aspasia. The first item is stock history since Thucydides; the second evidently comes from Stesimbrotus, and had originally a malicious intent. A learned note on the law which follows seems to have come from Philochorus through comment on Aristophanes.

Chapters xxxviii. and xxxix. describe the sickness and death of Pericles. The first consists of anecdotes, — one attributed to Theophrastus, and one anonymous, and neither awakening confidence in its genuineness; the second is Plutarch's feeling Epilogue, as genuinely and entirely his own as the mild and graceful Introduction.

It is clear that, although separated in composition from the *Cimon* by six pairs of parallel *Lives*, the *Pericles* of Plutarch rests on substantially the same sources, and in both cases these sources are in large degree contemporary, and supplement in the most welcome manner the meagre outline of events and the general characterization of Pericles which Thucydides gives us. Of thirty-seven years of the political activity of

Pericles Thucydides gives us as good as no detail. Of his keen rivalries with Cimon and Thucydides, son of Melesias, of his social and political reforms, of his financial and architectural achievements, of his large commercial and colonization schemes, of his private life and conversation, Thucydides tells us nothing, Plutarch almost everything that we know, and that is much. It is true that Plutarch is warped away from the Thucydidean estimate of Pericles at times, and vacillates in his judgment, seeking amiable but impossible compromises; but in the end he is true to it, and feels with the repentant Athenians that "a character more moderate than his in its solemn dignity, and more august in its gentleness, had not been created."

Alphabetical List of Authors cited by Plutarch in the *Pericles.*

Æschines the Socratic . XXIV. 4; XXXII. 3
Antisthenes . . . . . I. 5
Archilochus . . . . XXVIII. 5
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Aristotle . IV. 1; IX. 2; X. 7; XXVI. 3, XXVIII. 1
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Telecleides . . . III. 4; XVI. 2
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Thucydides IX. 1; XV. 5; XVI. 1; XXVIII. 1, 6; XXXIII. 1
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CIMON

CIMON

I. PERIPOLTAS the seer, who conducted King Opheltas with his subjects from Thessaly into Bœotia, left a posterity there which was in high repute for many generations. The greater part of them settled in Chæroneia, which was the first city they won from the Barbarians. Now the most of this posterity were naturally men of war and courage, and so were consumed away in the Persian invasions and the contests with the Gauls, because they did not spare themselves. There remained, however, an orphan boy, 2
Damon by name, Peripoltas by surname, who far surpassed his fellows in beauty of body and in vigor of spirit, though otherwise he was untrained and of a harsh disposition.

With this Damon, just passed out of boy's estate, the Roman commander of a cohort that was wintering in Chæroneia fell enamoured, and since he could not win him over by solicitations and presents, he was plainly bent on violence, seeing that our native city was at that time in sorry plight, and neglected because of her smallness and poverty. Violence was 3
just what Damon feared, and since the solicitation itself had enraged him, he plotted against the man, and enlisted against him sundry companions, — a few only, that they might escape notice. There were sixteen of them in all, who smeared their faces with soot

one night, heated themselves with wine, and at daybreak fell upon the Roman while he was sacrificing in the market-place, slew him, together with many
4 of his followers, and departed the city. During the commotion which followed, the council of Chæroneia met and condemned the murderers to death, and this was the defence which the city afterward made to its Roman rulers. But in the evening, while the magistrates were dining together, as the custom is, Damon and his men burst into the magistracy, slew them, and again fled the city.

5 Now about that time it chanced that Lucius Lucullus passed that way, on some errand, with an army. Halting on his march and investigating matters while they were still fresh in mind, he found that the city was in no wise to blame, but rather had itself also suffered wrong. So he took its garrison
6 of soldiers and led them away with him. Then Damon, who was ravaging the country with piratical forays and threatening the city, was induced by embassies and conciliatory decrees of the citizens to return, and was appointed gymnasiarch. But soon, as he was anointing himself in the vapor-bath, he was slain. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place, and groans were heard there, as our Fathers tell us, the door of the vapor-bath was walled up, and to this present time the neighbors think it the source of alarming sights and sounds. Descendants of Damon's family (and some are still living, especially near Stiris in Phocis, Æolians in speech) are called "Asbolomeni,"

or "Besooted," because Damon smeared himself with soot before he went forth to do his deed of murder.

II. But the Orchomenians, who were neighbors and rivals of the Chæroneians, hired a Roman informer to cite the city by name, as though it were an individual person, and prosecute it for the murder of the Roman soldiers who had been slain by Damon. The trial was held before the Prætor of Macedonia (the Romans were not yet sending prætors to Greece), and the city's advocates invoked the tes- 2
timony of Lucullus. Lucullus, when the prætor wrote to him, testified to the truth of the matter, and so the city escaped capital condemnation. Accordingly, the people who at that time were saved by him erected a marble statue of Lucullus in the market-place beside that of Dionysus. And we, though many generations removed from him, think that his favor extends even down to us who are now living; and since we believe that a portrait 3
which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature, we shall incorporate this man's deeds into our parallel lives, and we shall rehearse them truly. The mere mention of them is sufficient favor to show him; and as a return for his truthful testimony he himself surely would not deign to accept a false and garbled narrative of his career.

We demand of those who would paint fair and 4
graceful features that, in case of any slight imperfection therein, they shall neither wholly omit it nor yet emphasize it, because the one course makes the

portrait ugly and the other unlike its original. In like manner, since it is difficult, nay rather perhaps impossible, to represent a man's life as stainless and pure, in its fair chapters we must round out the
5 truth into fullest semblance; but those transgressions and follies by which, owing to passion, perhaps, or political compulsion, a man's career is sullied, we must regard rather as shortcomings in some particular excellence than as the vile products of positive baseness, and we must not all too zealously delineate them in our history, and superfluously too, but treat them as though we were reverently defending human nature for producing no character which is absolutely good and indisputably set towards virtue.

III. On looking about for some one to compare with Lucullus, we decided that it must be Cimon. Both were men of war, and of brilliant exploits against the Barbarians, and yet they were mild and beneficent statesmen, in that they gave their countries unusual respite from civil strifes, though each one of them set up martial trophies and won vic-
2 tories that were famous. No Hellene before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus carried his wars into such remote lands, if we leave out of our account the exploits of Heracles and Dionysus, and whatever credible deeds of Perseus against the Æthiopians or Medes and Armenians, or of Jason, have been brought down in the memory of man from those early times
3 to our own. Common also in a way to both their careers was the incompleteness of their campaigns. Each crushed, but neither gave the death blow to his

antagonist. But more than all else, the lavish ease which marked their entertainments and hospitalities, as well as the ardor and laxity of their way of living, was conspicuous alike in both. Possibly we may omit still other resemblances, but it will not be hard to gather them directly from our story.

IV. Cimon was the son of Miltiades by Hegesipyle, a woman of Thracian stock, daughter of King Olorus, as it is stated in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius addressed to Cimon himself. That explains how it was that the father of Thucydides the historian — and Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon — was also an Olorus, who referred his name back to that of the common ancestor, and also how it was that Thucydides had gold mines in Thrace. And it is said that Thucydides died in 2
Skapte Hyle, a place in Thrace, having been murdered there; but his remains were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, hard by the tomb of Elpinice, Cimon's sister. However, Thucydides belonged to the deme of Halimus, the family of Miltiades to that of Laciadæ.

Now Miltiades, who had been comdemned to pay a 3
fine of fifty talents and confined till payment should be made, died in prison, and Cimon, thus left a mere stripling with his sister who was a young girl and unmarried, was of no account in the city at first. He had the bad name of being dissolute and bibulous, and of taking after his grandfather Cimon, who, they say, because of his simplicity, was dubbed Coalemus, or Booby. And Stesimbrotus the Thasian, who was 4

of about Cimon's time, says that he acquired no literary education, nor any other liberal and distinctively Hellenic accomplishment; that he lacked entirely the Attic cleverness and fluency of speech; that in his outward bearing there was much nobility and truthfulness; that the fashion of the man's spirit was rather Peloponnesian,

"Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,"

as Euripides says of Heracles, a citation which we may add to what Stesimbrotus wrote.

5 While he was still a youth he was accused of improper intercourse with his sister. And indeed in other ways too they say that Elpinice was not very decorous, but that she had improper relations also with Polygnotus the painter, and that it was for this reason that, in the Peisianacteum, as it was then called, but now the Painted Colonnade, when he was painting the Trojan women, he made the features of
6 Laodice a portrait of Elpinice. Now Polygnotus was not a mere artisan, and did not paint the stoa for a contract price, but gratis, out of zeal for the welfare of the city, as the historians relate, and as Melanthius the poet testifies after this fashion: —

"He at his own lavish outlay the gods' great fanes, and the market
Named Cecropia, adorned; demigods' valor his theme."

7 Still, there are some who say that Elpinice did not live with Cimon in secret intercourse, but openly rather, as his wedded wife, because, on account of her poverty, she could not get a husband worthy of her high lineage; but that when Callias, a wealthy

Athenian, fell in love with her, and offered to pay into the state treasury the fine which had been imposed upon her father, she consented herself, and Cimon freely gave Elpinice to Callias to wife.

However, it is perfectly apparent that Cimon was 8
given to the love of women. Asteria, of a Salaminian family, and a certain Mnestra are mentioned by the poet Melanthius, in a sportive elegy addressed to Cimon, as wooed and won by him. And it is 9
clear that he was even too passionately attached to Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus and granddaughter of Megacles, his lawful wife, and that he was too sorely afflicted at her death, if we may judge from the elegy addressed to him for the mitigation of his grief. This was composed by the naturalist Archelaus, as Panætius the philosopher thinks, and his conjecture is chronologically possible.

V. All other traits of Cimon's character were admirable and noble. Neither in daring was he inferior to Miltiades, nor in sagacity to Themistocles, and it is admitted that he was a juster man than either, and that while not one whit behind them in the good qualities of a soldier, he was inconceivably their superior in those of a statesman, even when he was still young and untried in war. When the 2
Medes made their invasion, and Themistocles was trying to persuade the people to give up their city, abandon their country, make a stand with their fleet off Salamis, and fight the issue at sea, most men were terrified at the boldness of the scheme; but lo! Cimon was first to act, and with a gay mien led a

procession of his companions through the Cerameicus up to the Acropolis, to dedicate to the goddess there the horse's bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not
3 knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle he took one of the shields which were hung up about the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and went down to the sea, whereat many were first made to take heart.

He was also of no mean presence, as Ion the poet says, but tall and stately, with an abundant and curly head of hair. And since he displayed brilliant and heroic qualities in the actual struggle at Salamis, he soon acquired reputation and good will in the city. Many thronged to him and besought him to purpose and perform at once what would be worthy of Mara-
4 thon. So when he entered politics the people gladly welcomed him, and promoted him, since they were full to surfeit of Themistocles, to the highest honors and offices in the city, for he was engaging and attractive to the common folk by reason of his gentleness and artlessness. But it was Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who more than any one else furthered his career, for he saw the fine features of his character, and made him, as it were, a foil to the cleverness and daring of Themistocles.

VI. After the flight of the Medes from Hellas, Cimon was sent out as a commander, before the Athenians had obtained their empire of the sea, and while they were still under the leadership of Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians. During this campaign

the citizen-soldiers he furnished on expeditions were always admirably disciplined and far more zealous than any others; and again, while Pausanias was 2
holding treasonable conference with the Barbarians, writing letters to the King, treating the allies with harsh arrogance, and displaying much wantonness of power and silly pretension, Cimon received with mildness those who brought their wrongs to him, treated them humanely, and so, before men were aware of it, secured the leadership of Hellas, not by force of arms, but by virtue of his address and character. For most of the allies, because they could 3
not endure the severity and disdain of Pausanias, attached themselves to him and to Aristides, who had no sooner won this following than they sent also to the Ephors and told them, since Sparta had lost her prestige and Hellas was in confusion, to recall Pausanias.

It is said that a maiden of Byzantium, of excellent 4
parentage, Cleonice by name, was summoned by Pausanias for a purpose that would disgrace her. Her parents, influenced by constraint and fear, abandoned their daughter to her fate, and she, after requesting the attendants before his chamber to remove the light, in darkness and silence at length drew near the couch on which Pausanias was asleep, but accidentally stumbled against the lamp-holder and upset it. Pausanias, startled by the noise, drew the dagger 5
which lay at his side, with the idea that some enemy was upon him, and smote and felled the maiden. After her death in consequence of the blow, she gave

Pausanias no peace, but kept coming into his sleep by night in phantom form, wrathfully uttering this verse: —

"Draw thou nigh to thy doom; 'tis evil for men to be wanton."

At this outrage the allies were beyond measure incensed, and joined Cimon in forcing Pausanias to
6 leave the city. Driven from Byzantium, and still harassed by the phantom, as the story goes, he took refuge at the ghost-oracle of Heracleia, and summoning up the spirit of Cleonice, besought her to forego her wrath. She came into his presence and said that he would soon cease from his ills on coming to Sparta, thus darkly intimating, as it seems, his impending death. At any rate, this tale is told by many.

VII. But Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace, for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Eïon, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were
2 harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King's general, gave up the struggle, set fire to the city, and destroyed
3 with it his family, his treasures, and himself. And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby, since most of

its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation. Wherefore the people permitted him to dedicate the stone *Hermæ*, on the first of which is the inscription: —

"Valorous-hearted as well were they who at Eïon fighting, 4
Facing the sons of the Medes, Strymon's current beside,
Fiery famine arrayed, and gore-flecked Ares, against them,
Thus first finding for foes that grim exit, — despair;"

and on the second: —

"Unto their leaders reward by Athenians thus hath been given;
Benefits won such return, valorous deeds of the brave.
All the more strong at the sight will the men of the future be eager,
Fighting for commonwealth, war's dread strife to maintain;"

and on the third: — 5

"With the Atridæ of old, from this our city, Menestheus
Led his men to the plain Trojan called and divine.
He, once Homer asserted, among well-armored Achæans,
Marshaller was of the fight, best of them all who had come.
Thus there is naught unseemly in giving that name to Athenians;
Marshallers they both of war and of the vigor of men."

VIII. Although these inscriptions nowhere mentioned Cimon by name, his contemporaries held them to be a surpassing honor for him. Neither Themistocles nor Miltiades achieved any such, nay, when the latter asked for a crown of olive merely, Sophanes the Deceleian rose up in the midst of the assembly and protested. His speech was ungracious, but it pleased the people of that day. "When," said he, "thou hast fought out alone a victory over the

2 Barbarians, then demand to be honored alone." Why, then, were the people so excessively pleased with the achievement of Cimon? Perhaps it was because when the others were their generals they were trying to repel their enemies and so avert disaster; but when he led them they were enabled to ravage the land of their enemies with incursions of their own, and acquired fresh territories for settlement, not only Eïon itself, but also Amphipolis.

3 They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practised piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison.

4 When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter to Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they would give it up to him.

5 In this manner Cimon got possession of the island, drove out the Dolopians, and made the Ægean a free sea.

On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of Ægeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Scyros, but had been treacherously put to death there, through fear, by Lycomedes the King, Cimon eagerly sought to dis-

cover his grave. For the Athenians had once re- 6
ceived an oracle bidding them bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and honor him as became a hero, but they knew not where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work with great zeal, discovered at last the hallowed spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme, and with general pomp and show brought them back to the hero's own country after an absence of about four hundred years. This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.

But they also cherished in kindly remembrance of 7
him that decision of his in the tragic contests which became so famous. When Sophocles, still a young man, entered the lists with his first plays, Apsephion the Archon, seeing that the spirit of rivalry and partisanship ran high among the spectators, did not appoint the judges of the contest as usual by lot, but when Cimon and his fellow-generals advanced into the theatre and made the customary libation to the god, he would not suffer them to depart, but forced them to take the oath and sit as judges, being ten in all, one from each tribe. So, then, the contest, even 8
because of the unusual dignity of the judges, was more zealous than ever before. But Sophocles came off victorious, and it is said that Æschylus, in great distress and indignation thereat, lingered only a little while at Athens, and then went off in a rage to Sicily. There he died also, and is buried near Gela.

IX. Ion says that, coming from Chios to Athens

as a mere stripling, he was once a fellow-guest with Cimon at a dinner given by Laomedon, and that over the wine the hero was invited to sing, and did sing very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a cleverer man than Themistocles. That hero, they said, declared that he had not learned to sing, nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a
2 city great and rich. Next, Ion says, as was natural over the cups, the conversation drifted to the exploits of Cimon, and as his greatest deeds were being recounted, the hero himself dwelt at length on one particular stratagem which he thought his shrewdest. Once, he said, when the Athenians and their allies had taken many barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and turned them over to him for distribution, he put into one lot the persons of the captives, and into another the rich adornments of their bodies, and
3 his distribution was blamed as unequal. But he bade the allies choose one of the lots and the Athenians would be content with whichever one they left. So, on the advice of Herophytus the Samian to choose Persian wealth rather than Persians, the allies took the rich adornments for themselves, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. At the time Cimon came off with the reputation of being a ridiculous distributer, since the allies had their gold anklets and armlets and collars and jackets and purple robes to display, while the Athenians got only naked bodies
4 ill trained for labor. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the captives came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them

at a great price, so that Cimon had four months' pay and rations for his fleet, and besides that, much gold from the ransoms was left over for the city.

X. And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honor from the enemy, to his still greater honor, on his fellow-citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land; and every day he gave a dinner at his house, — simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in, and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. But Aristotle says 2
that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadæ, that he provided a free dinner.

He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire, each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression. These same followers also carried 3
with them a generous sum of money, and slipping up to poor men of finer quality in the market-place, they would quietly thrust small change into their hands. To such generosity as this Cratinus seems to have referred in his *Archilochi*, with the words: —

"Yes, I too hoped, Metrobius, I, the public scribe, 4
Along with man divine, the rarest host that lives,
In every way the best of all Hellenic men,

With Cimon, feasting out in joy a sleek old age,
To while away the remnant of my life. But he
Has gone before and left me."

5 And again Gorgias the Leontine says that Cimon made money that he might spend it, and spent it that he might be honored for it. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, prays in his elegies that he may have "the wealth of the Scopadæ, the great-mindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilaus of Lacedæmon."

Now we know that Lichas the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gymnastic festival; but the generosity of Cimon surpassed even the hospitality and philanthropy of the
6 Athenians of olden time. For they — and their city is justly very proud of it — spread abroad among the Hellenes the sowing of grain and the lustral uses of spring waters, and taught mankind who knew it not the art of kindling fire. But he made his home in the city a general public residence for his fellow-citizens, and on his estates in the country allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits, with all the fair things which the seasons bring. Thus, in a certain fashion, he restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of
7 Cronus, — the golden age. Those who slanderously said that this was flattery of the rabble and demagogic art in him, were refuted by the man's political policy, which was aristocratic and Laconian. He actually opposed Themistocles when he exalted the democracy

unduly, as Aristides also did. Later on he took violent issue with Ephialtes, who, to please the people, tried to dethrone the Council of the Areiopagus; and though he saw all the rest except Aristides and Ephialtes filling their purses with the gains from their public services, he remained unbought and unapproached by bribes, devoting all his powers to the state, without recompense and in all purity, through to the end.

It is told indeed that one Rhœsaces, a Barbarian who had deserted from the King, came to Athens with large moneys, and being set upon fiercely by the public informers, fled for refuge to Cimon, and deposited at his door two platters, one filled with silver, the other with golden Darics. Cimon, when he saw them, smiled, and asked the man whether he preferred to have Cimon as his hireling or his friend, and on his replying, "as my friend," "well then," said Cimon, "take this money with thee, and go thy way, for I shall have the use of it when I want it if I am thy friend."

XI. The allies continued to pay their assessments, but did not furnish men and ships according to allotment, since they were soon weary of military service, and had no need of war, but a great desire to till their land and live at their ease. The Barbarians were gone and did not harass them, so they neither manned their ships nor sent out soldiers. The rest of the Athenian generals tried to force them to do this, and by prosecuting the delinquents and punishing them, rendered their empire burdensome and

2 vexatious. But Cimon took just the opposite course when he was general, and brought no compulsion to bear on a single Hellene, but accepted money from those who did not wish to go out on service, and ships without crews, and so suffered the allies, caught with the bait of their own ease, to stay at home and become tillers of the soil and unwarlike merchants instead of warriors, and all through their foolish love of comfort. On the other hand he made great numbers of the Athenians man their ships, one crew relieving another, and imposed on them the toil of his expeditions, and so in a little while, by means of the very wages which they got from the allies, made
3 them lords of their own paymasters. For those who did no military service became used to fearing and flattering those who were continually voyaging and forever under arms and training and practising, and so, before they knew it, they were tributary subjects instead of allies.

XII. And surely there was no one who humbled the Great King himself, and reduced his haughty spirit, more than Cimon. For he did not let him go quietly away from Hellas, but followed right at his heels, as it were, and before the Barbarians had come to a halt and taken breath, he sacked and overthrew here, or subverted and annexed to the Hellenes there, until Asia from Ionia to Pamphylia was entirely
2 cleared of Persian arms. Learning that the generals of the King were lurking about Pamphylia with a great army and many ships, and wishing to make them afraid to enter at all the sea to the west of the

Chelidonian isles, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium with two hundred triremes. These vessels had been from the beginning very well constructed for speed and manœuvring by Themistocles; but Cimon now made them broader, and put bridges between their decks, in order that with their numerous hoplites they might be more effective in their onsets. Putting in at Phaselis, which was a Hel- 3
lenic city, but refused to admit his armament or even to abandon the King's cause, he ravaged its territory and assaulted its walls. But the Chians, who formed part of his fleet and were of old on friendly terms with the people of Phaselis, labored to soften Cimon's hostility, and at the same time, by shooting arrows over the walls with little documents attached, they conveyed messages of their success to the men of Phaselis. So finally Cimon 4
made terms with them that they should pay ten talents and join him in his expedition against the Barbarians.

Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was commander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry; but Callisthenes says that it was Ariomandes, the son of Gobryas, who, as commander-in-chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phœnician ships to sail up from Cyprus. Wishing to 5
anticipate their arrival, Cimon put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his enemy should decline an engagement. At first the enemy put into

the river, that they might not be forced to fight; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them. They had six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus; three hundred and fifty, according to Ephorus. Whatever the number, nothing was achieved by them on the water which
6 was worthy of such a force, but they straightway put about and made for shore, where the foremost of them abandoned their ships and fled for refuge to the infantry which was drawn up near by; those who were overtaken were destroyed with their ships. Whereby also it is plain that the barbarian ships which went into action were no one knows how many, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred ships were captured by the Athenians.

XIII. When the enemy's land forces marched threateningly down to the sea, Cimon thought it a vast undertaking to force a landing and lead his weary Hellenes against an unwearied and many times more numerous foe. But he saw that his men were exalted by the impetus and pride of their victory, and eager to come to close quarters with the Barbarians, so he landed his hoplites still hot with the struggle of the sea-fight, and they advanced to
2 the attack with shouts and on the run. The Persians stood firm and received the onset nobly, and a mighty battle ensued, wherein there fell brave men of Athens who were foremost in public office and eminent. But after a long struggle the Athenians routed the Barbarians with slaughter, and then cap-

tured them and their camp, which was full of all sorts of treasure.

But Cimon, though like a powerful athlete he had 3
brought down two contests in one day, and though he had surpassed the victory of Salamis with an infantry battle, and that of Platæa with a naval battle, still went on competing with his victories. Hearing that the eighty Phœnician triremes which were too late for the battle had put in at Hyblus, he sailed thither with all speed, while their commanders as yet knew nothing definite about the major force, but were still in distrustful suspense. For this reason 4
they were all the more panic-stricken at his attack, and lost all their ships. Most of their crews were destroyed with the ships. This exploit so humbled the purpose of the King that he made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles with armored ships of war.

And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian 5
made any such terms, but says he really acted as he did through the fear which that victory inspired, and kept so far aloof from Hellas that Pericles with fifty, and Ephialtes with only thirty, ships sailed beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering any navy of the Barbarians. But in the decrees 6
collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it had actually been made. And they say that the Athenians also built the altar

of Peace to commemorate this event, and paid distinguished honors to Callias as their ambassador.

By the sale of the captured spoils the people was enabled to meet various financial demands, and especially it constructed the southern wall of the Acropolis with the generous resources obtained from that
7 expedition. And it is said that, though the building of the long walls, called "legs," was completed afterwards, yet their first foundations, where the work was obstructed by swamps and marshes, were stayed up securely by Cimon, who dumped vast quantities of rubble and heavy stones into the swamps, meeting
8 the expenses himself. He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

XIV. Now there were certain Persians who would not abandon the Chersonese, but called in Thracians from the North to help them, despising Cimon, who had sailed out from Athens with only a few triremes all told. But he sallied out against them with his four ships and captured their thirteen, drove out the Persians, overwhelmed the Thracians, and turned the whole Chersonese over to his city for settlement.
2 And after this, when the Thasians were in revolt from Athens, he defeated them in a sea-fight, captured thirty-three of their ships, besieged and took their city, acquired their gold mines on the opposite

mainland for Athens, and took possession of the territory which the Thasians controlled there.

From this base he had a good opportunity, as it was thought, to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, and because he would not consent to do it, he was accused of having been bribed to this position by King Alexander, and was actually prosecuted, his enemies forming a coalition against him. In making [3] his defence before his judges he said he was no proxenus of rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others were, to be courted and paid for their services, but rather of Lacedæmonians, whose temperate simplicity he lovingly imitated, counting no wealth above it, but embellishing the city with the wealth which he got from the enemy. In mentioning this famous trial [4] Stesimbrotus says that Elpinice came with a plea for Cimon to the house of Pericles, since he was the most ardent accuser, and that he smiled and said, "Too old, too old, Elpinice, to meddle with such business." But at the trial he was very gentle with Cimon, and took the floor only once in accusation of him, as though it were a mere formality.

XV. Well then, Cimon was acquitted at this trial. And during the remainder of his political career, when he was at home, he mastered and constrained the people in its onsets upon the nobles, and in its efforts to wrest all office and power to itself; but when he sailed away again on military service, the populace got completely beyond control. They confounded the established political order of things and the ancestral practices which they had formerly ob-

2 served, and under the lead of Ephialtes they robbed the Council of the Areiopagus of all but a few of the cases in its jurisdiction. They made themselves masters of the courts of justice, and plunged the city into unmitigated democracy, Pericles being now a man of power and espousing the cause of the populace. And so when Cimon came back home and, in his indignation at the insults heaped upon the reverend council, tried to recall again its jurisdiction and to revive the
3 aristocracy of the times of Cleisthenes, they banded together to denounce him, and tried to inflame the people against him, renewing the old slanders about his sister and accusing him of being a Spartan sympathizer. It was to these calumnies that the famous and popular verses of Eupolis about Cimon had reference: —

> "He was not base, but fond of wine and full of sloth,
> And oft he 'ld sleep in Lacedæmon, far from home,
> And leave his Elpinice sleeping all alone."

4 But if, though full of sloth and given to tippling, he yet took so many cities and won so many victories, it is clear that had he been sober and mindful of his business, no Hellene either before or after him would have surpassed his exploits.

XVI. It is true indeed that he was from the start a philo-Laconian. He actually named one of his twin sons Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleius, — the sons whom a woman of Cleitor bare him, as Stesimbrotus relates, wherefore Pericles often reproached them with their maternal lineage. But Diodorus the Topographer says that these, as well

as the third of Cimon's sons, Thessalus, were born of Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles.

And he was looked upon with favor by the Lace- 2
dæmonians, who soon were at enmity with Themistocles, and therefore preferred that Cimon, young as he was, should have the more weight and power in Athens. The Athenians were glad to see this at first, since they reaped no slight advantage from the good will which the Spartans showed him. While their empire was growing and their allies kept them busy, they were not displeased that honor and favor should be shown to Cimon. He was the foremost Hellenic 3
statesman, dealing gently with the allies and graciously with the Lacedæmonians. But afterwards, when they became more powerful, and saw that Cimon was strongly attached to the Spartans, they were displeased thereat. For on every occasion he was prone to exalt Lacedæmon to the Athenians, especially when he had occasion to chide or incite them. Then, as Stesimbrotus tells us, he would say, "But the Lacedæmonians are not of such a sort." 4
On this wise he awakened the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens.

At any rate, the strongest charge against him arose as follows. When Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was in the fourth year of his reign at Sparta, a greater earthquake than any before reported rent the land of the Lacedæmonians into many chasms, shook Taÿgetus so that sundry peaks were torn away, and demolished the entire city with the exception

of five houses. The rest were thrown down by the earthquake.

5 It is said that while the youths and young men were exercising together in the interior of the portico, just a little before the earthquake, a hare made its appearance, and the youths, all anointed as they were, in sport dashed out and gave chase to it, but the young men remained behind, on whom the gymnasium fell, and all perished together. Their tomb, even down to the present day, they call *Seismatias*.

6 Archidamus at once comprehended from the danger at hand that which was sure to follow, and as he saw the citizens trying to save the choicest valuables out of their houses, ordered the trumpet to give the signal of an enemy's attack, in order that they might flock to him under arms. This was all that saved Sparta at that crisis. For the Helots hurriedly gathered from all the country round about with intent to 7 despatch the surviving Spartans. But finding them arrayed in arms, they withdrew to their cities and waged open war, persuading many Periœci also so to do. The Messenians besides joined in this attack upon the Spartans.

Accordingly, the Lacedæmonians sent Pericleidas to Athens with request for aid, and Aristophanes introduces him into a comedy as "sitting at the altars, ochre-pale, in purple cloak, soliciting an army."

8 But Ephialtes opposed the project, and besought the Athenians not to succor nor restore a city which was their rival, but to let haughty Sparta lie to be trodden under foot of men. Whereupon, as Critias says,

Cimon made his country's increase of less account than Sparta's interest, and persuaded the people to go forth to her aid with many hoplites. And Ion actually mentions the phrase by which, more than by anything else, Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians, exhorting them "not to suffer Hellas to be crippled, nor their city to be robbed of its yoke-fellow."

XVII. After he had given aid to the Lacedæmonians he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. "People who knock at doors," said he, "do not go in before the owner bids them;" to which Cimon replied, "And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleonæ and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger." Such was his boldness of speech to the Corinthian in an emergency, and he passed on through with his forces.

Once more the Lacedæmonians summoned the 2
Athenians to come to their aid against the Messenians and Helots in Ithome, and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage, and at once took open measures of hostility against the Laconizers, and above all against Cimon. Laying hold of a trifling pretext, they ostracized him for ten years. That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.

3 It was during this period that the Lacedæmonians, after freeing the Delphians from the Phocians, encamped at Tanagra on their march back home. Here the Athenians confronted them, bent on fighting their issue out, and here Cimon came in arms, to join his own Œneïd tribe, eager to share with his fellow-
4 citizens in repelling the Lacedæmonians. But the Council of the Five Hundred learned of this and was filled with fear, since Cimon's foes accused him of wishing to throw the ranks into confusion, and then lead the Lacedæmonians in an attack upon the city; so they forbade the generals to receive the man. As he went away he besought Euthyppus of Anaphlystus and his other comrades, all who were specially charged with laconizing, to fight sturdily against the enemy, and by their deeds of valor to dissipate the charge which their countrymen laid at their door.
5 They took his armor and set it in the midst of their company, supported one another ardently in the fight, and fell, to the number of one hundred, leaving behind them among the Athenians a great and yearning sense of their loss, and sorrow for the unjust charges made against them. For this reason the Athenians did not long abide by their displeasure against Cimon, partly because, as was natural, they remembered his benefits, and partly because the turn
6 of events favored his cause. For they were defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and expected that in the following spring-time an armed force of Peloponnesians would come against them, and so they recalled Cimon from his exile. The decree which provided

for his return was written and introduced by Pericles. To such a degree in those days were dissensions based on political differences of opinion, while personal feelings were moderate, and easily recalled into conformity with the public weal. Even ambition, that master passion, paid deference to the country's welfare.

XVIII. Well then, as soon as Cimon returned from exile he stopped the war and reconciled the rival cities. After peace was made, since he saw 2 that the Athenians were unable to keep quiet, but wished to be on the move and to wax great by means of military expeditions; with a view also not to be annoying to the Hellenes generally, nor by hovering around the islands and the Peloponnesus with a large fleet to bring down upon his city causes for civil wars and grounds of complaint from the allies, he manned two hundred triremes. His design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes.

All things were now ready and the soldiery on the point of embarking when Cimon had a dream. He 3 thought an angry bitch was baying at him, and that mingled with its baying it emitted a human voice, saying,

> "Go on thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me and my puppies."

The vision being hard of interpretation, Astyphilus of Posidonia, an inspired man and an intimate of Cimon's, told him that it signified his death. He analyzed the vision thus: a dog is a foe of the man at whom it bays; to a foe, one cannot be a friend any better than by dying; the mixture of tone indicates that the enemy is the Mede, for the army of the Medes is a mixture of Hellenes and Barbarians.

4 After this vision, as Cimon was sacrificing to Dionysus and the seer was cutting up the victim, swarms of ants took the blood as it congealed, brought it little by little to Cimon, and enveloped his great toe therewith, he being unconscious of their work for some time. At just about the time when he noticed what they were doing, the ministrant came and showed him that the liver of his victim was without a head.

But since there was no postponing the expedition, he set sail, and after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus.
5 After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phœnician and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round about, and then lay threatening the royal enterprise in Egypt, and not in any trifling fashion, — nay, he had in mind the dissolution of the King's entire supremacy, and all the more because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, who had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he
6 would take command of it. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to Themistocles' despair

of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not eclipse the good fortune and valor of Cimon, that he took his own life.

But Cimon, while he was projecting vast conflicts and holding his naval forces in the vicinity of Cyprus, sent men to the shrine of Ammon to get oracular answer from the god to some unknown question. No 7
one knows what they were sent to ask, nor did the god vouchsafe them any response, but as soon as the enquirers drew nigh, he bade them depart, saying that Cimon himself was already with him. On hearing this, the enquirers went down to the sea-coast, and when they reached the camp of the Hellenes, which was at that time on the confines of Egypt, they learned that Cimon was dead, and on counting the days back to the utterance of the oracle, they found that it was their commander's death which had been darkly intimated, since he was already with the gods.

XIX. He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say. But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Cimon," as Phanodemus says, "who had been dead for thirty days."

After his death no further brilliant exploit against 2
the Barbarians was performed by any general of the

Hellenes, who were swayed by demagogues and partisans of civil war, with none to hold a mediating hand between them, till they actually clashed together in war. This afforded the cause of the King a respite, but brought to pass an indescribable de-
3 struction of Hellenic power. It was not until long afterwards that Agesilaus carried his arms into Asia and prosecuted a brief war against the King's generals along the sea-coast. And even he could perform no great and brilliant deeds, but was overwhelmed in his turn by a flood of Hellenic disorders and seditions and swept away from a second empire. So he withdrew, leaving in the midst of allied and friendly cities the publicans of the Persians, not one of whose scribes, nay, nor so much as a horseman, had been seen within four hundred furlongs of the sea, as long as Cimon was general.

4 That his remains were brought home to Attica, there is testimony in the funeral monuments to this day called Cimonian. But the people of Citium also pay honors to a certain tomb of Cimon, as Nausicrates the rhetorician says, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honor him as a superior being.

PERICLES

PERICLES

I. On seeing certain wealthy foreigners in Rome carrying puppies and young monkeys around in their bosoms and fondling them, Cæsar asked, we are told, if the women in their country did not bear children, thus in right princely fashion rebuking those who squander on animals that proneness to love and loving affection which is ours by nature, and which is due only to our fellow-men. Since, then, our souls 2
are by nature possessed of great fondness for learning and fondness for seeing, it is surely reasonable to chide those who abuse this fondness on objects all unworthy either of their ears or eyes, to the neglect of those which are good and serviceable. Our outward sense, since it apprehends the objects which encounter it by virtue of their mere impact upon it, must needs, perhaps, regard everything that presents itself, be it useful or useless; but in the exercise of his mind every man, if he pleases, has the natural power to turn himself away in every case, and to change, without the least difficulty, to that object upon which he himself determines. It is meet, therefore, that he pursue what is best, to the end that he may not merely regard it, but also be edified by regarding it. A color is suited to the eye if its freshness, and its pleasantness as well, stimulates and nourishes the vision; and so our intellectual vision

must be applied to such objects as, by their very charm, invite it onward to its own proper good.

4 Such objects are to be found in virtuous deeds; these implant in those who search them out a great and jealous eagerness which leads to imitation. In other cases admiration of the deed is not immediately accompanied by an impulse to do it. Nay, many times, on the contrary, while we delight in the work, we despise the workman, as, for instance, in the case of perfumes and dyes; we take delight in them, but dyers and perfumers we regard as illiberal and vulgar

5 folk. Therefore it was a fine saying of Antisthenes, when he heard that Ismenias was an excellent piper: "But he's a sorry fellow," said he, "otherwise he would n't be so good a piper." And so Philip once said to his son, who, as the wine went round, plucked the strings charmingly and skilfully, "Art not ashamed to pluck the strings so well?" It is enough, surely, if a king have leisure to hear others pluck the strings, and he pays great deference to the Muses if he be but a spectator of such contests.

II. Labor with one's own hands on lowly tasks gives witness, in the toil thus expended on useless things, to one's own indifference to higher things. No generous youth, from seeing the Zeus at Pisa, or the Hera at Argos, longs to be Pheidias or Polycleitus; nor to be Anacreon or Philetas or Archilochus

2 out of pleasure in their poems. It does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its grace, the one who wrought it is worthy of your esteem. Wherefore the spectator is not advantaged by

those things at sight of which no ardor for imitation arises in the breast, nor any uplift of the soul arousing zealous impulses to do the like. But virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them. The good things 3
of Fortune we love to possess and enjoy; those of Virtue we love to perform. The former we are willing should be ours at the hands of others; the latter we wish that others rather should have at our hands. The Good creates a stir of activity towards itself, and implants at once in the spectator an active impulse; it does not form his character by ideal representation alone, but through the investigation of its work it furnishes him with a dominant purpose.

For such reasons I have decided to persevere in 4
my writing of *Lives*, and so have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who waged such lengthy war with Hannibal. The men were alike in their virtues, and more especially in their gentleness and rectitude, and by their ability to endure the follies of their peoples and of their colleagues in office, they proved of the greatest service to their countries.

But whether I aim correctly at the proper mark must be decided from what I have written.

III. Pericles was of the tribe Acamantis, of the deme Cholargus, and of the foremost family and lineage on both sides. His father, Xanthippus, who conquered the generals of the King at Mycale, married Agariste, granddaughter of that Cleisthenes who,

in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidæ and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attempered for the promo-
2 tion of harmony and safety. She, in her dreams, once fancied that she had given birth to a lion, and a few days thereafter bore Pericles. His personal appearance was unimpeachable, except that his head was rather long and out of due proportion. For this reason the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity. The comic poets of Attica used to call him *Schinocephalus*, or Squill-head (the squill is sometimes called *schinus*).
3 So the comic poet Cratinus, in his *Cheirons*, says: —

"Faction and Saturn, that ancient of days, were united in wedlock;
Their offspring was of all tyrants the greatest,
And lo! he is called by the gods the head-compeller."

And again in his *Nemesis:* —

"Come, Zeus! of guests and heads the Lord!"

4 And Telecleides speaks of him as sitting on the Acropolis in the direst straits, "now heavy of head, and now alone, from the eleven-couched chamber of his head causing vast uproar to arise." And Eupolis, in his *Demes*, having enquiries made about each one of the demagogues as they come up from Hades, says, when Pericles is called out last: —

"The very head of those below hast thou now brought."

IV. His teacher in music, most writers state, was Damon (whose name, they say, should be pronounced

with the first syllable short); but Aristotle says he had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythocleides. Now Damon seems to have been a consummate sophist, but to have taken refuge behind the name of music in order to conceal from the multitude his real power, and he associated with Pericles, that political athlete, as it were, in the capacity of rubber and trainer. However, Damon was not left 2
unmolested in this use of his lyre as a screen, but was ostracized for being a great schemer and a friend of tyranny, and became a butt of the comic poets. At all events, Plato represented some one as enquiring of him thus: —

"In the first place tell me then, I beseech thee, thou who art
The Cheiron, as they say, who to Pericles gave his craft — "

Pericles was also a pupil of Zeno the Eleatic, who 3
discoursed on the natural world, like Parmenides, and perfected a species of refutative catch which was sure to bring an opponent to grief; as Timon of Phlius expressed it: —

"His was a tongue that could argue both ways with a fury resistless,
Zeno's; assailer of all things."

But the man who most consorted with Pericles, 4
and did most to clothe him with a majestic demeanor that had more weight than any demagogue's appeals, yes, and who lifted on high and exalted the dignity of his character, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom men of that day used to call "Nous," either because they admired that comprehension of his, which proved of such surpassing greatness in the in-

vestigation of nature; or because he was the first to enthrone in the universe, not Chance, nor yet Necessity, as the source of its orderly arrangement, but Mind (Nous) pure and simple, which divides and sets apart the elemental substances in the midst of an otherwise chaotic mass.

V. This man Pericles extravagantly admired, and being gradually filled full of the so-called higher philosophy and elevated speculation, he not only had, as it seems, a demeanor that was solemn and a discourse that was lofty and free from plebeian and reckless effrontery, but also a composure of countenance that never relaxed into laughter, and a gentleness of carriage and cast of attire that suffered no emotion to disturb it while he was speaking, and a modulation of voice that was far from boisterous, and those other characteristics which struck all his
2 hearers with such wondering amazement. It is, at any rate, a fact that, once on a time when he had been abused and insulted all day long by a certain lewd fellow of the baser sort, he endured it all
• quietly, though it was in the market-place, where he had urgent business to transact, and towards evening went away homewards unruffled, the fellow following along and heaping all manner of contumely upon
3 him. When he was about to go in doors, it being now dark, he ordered a servant to take a torch and escort the fellow in safety back to his own home.

But the poet Ion says that Pericles had a presumptuous and somewhat arrogant manner of address, and that into his haughtiness there entered a good deal

of disdain and contempt for others; he praises, on the other hand, the tact, complaisance, and elegant culture which Cimon showed in his social intercourse. But we must ignore Ion, with his demand that vir- 4
tue, like a dramatic tetralogy, have some sort of a farcical appendage. Zeno, when men called the austerity of Pericles a mere thirst for reputation, and swollen conceit, urged them to have some such thirst for reputation themselves, with the idea that the very assumption of nobility might in time produce, all unconsciously, something like an eager and habitual practice of it.

VI. These were not the only advantages Pericles had of his association with Anaxagoras. It appears that he was also lifted by him above superstition, that feeling which is produced by amazement at what happens in regions above us. It affects those who are ignorant of the causes of such things, and are simply possessed in the matter of divine intervention, and confounded through their inexperience in this domain; whereas the doctrines of natural philosophy remove such ignorance and inexperience, and substitute for timorous and inflamed superstition that unshaken reverence which is attended by a good hope.

A story is told that once on a time the head of a 2
one-horned ram was brought to Pericles from his country-place, and that Lampon the seer, when he saw how the horn grew strong and solid from the middle of the forehead, declared that, whereas there were two powerful parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the mastery would finally

devolve upon one man, — the man to whom this sign had been given. Anaxagoras, however, had the skull cut in two, and showed that the brain had not filled out its position, but had drawn together to a point, like an egg, at that particular spot in the entire cav-
3 ity where the root of the horn began. At that time, the story says, it was Anaxagoras who won the plaudits of the bystanders; but a little while after it was Lampon, for Thucydides was overthrown, and Pericles was entrusted with the entire control of all the interests of the people.

Now there was nothing, in my opinion, to prevent both of them, the naturalist and the seer, from being in the right of the matter; the one correctly divined the cause, the other the object or purpose. It was the proper province of the one to observe why anything happens, and how it comes to be what it is; of the other to declare for what purpose anything hap-
4 pens, and what it means. And those who declare the discovery of the cause, in any phenomenon, to be the elimination of the meaning, do not perceive that they are doing away not only with divine portents, but also with artificial tokens, such as the ringing of gongs, and the language of fire-signals, and the shadows of the pointers on sundials. Each of these has been made, through some causal adaptation, to have some meaning. However, perhaps this is matter for a different treatise.

VII. As a young man, Pericles was exceedingly reluctant to face the people, since it was thought that in feature he was like the tyrant Peisistratus, and

when men well on in years remarked also that his voice was sweet, and his tongue glib and speedy in discourse. they were struck with amazement at the resemblance. Besides, since he was rich, of brilliant lineage, and had friends of the greatest influence, he feared that he might be ostracized, and so at first had naught to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising. However, when Aristides was dead, and 2
Themistocles in banishment, and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people, espousing the cause of the poor and the many instead of the few and the rich, contrary to his own nature, which was anything but popular. But he feared, as 3
it would seem, to encounter a suspicion of aiming at tyranny, and when he saw that Cimon was very aristocratic in his sympathies, and was held in extraordinary affection by the "Good and True," as they called themselves, he began to court the favor of the multitude, thereby securing safety for himself, and power to wield against his rival.

Straightway, too, he made a different ordering in his way of life. On one street only in the city was 4
he to be seen walking, — the one which took him to the market-place and the council-chamber. Invitations to dinner, and all such friendly and familiar intercourse, he declined, so that during the long period that elapsed while he was at the head of the state, there was not a single friend to whose house he went to dine, except that when his kinsman Eurypto-

lemus gave a wedding feast, he attended until the libations were made, and then straightway rose up and departed. Conviviality is prone to break down and overpower the haughtiest reserve, and in familiar intercourse the dignity which is assumed for appearance's sake is very hard to maintain. Whereas, in the case of true and genuine virtue, "fairest appears what most appears," and nothing in the conduct of good men is so admirable in the eyes of strangers, as their daily walk and conversation in the eyes of those who share it.

And so it was that Pericles, seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing the people on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaus says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, as they say, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Council of the Areiopagus, and so poured out for the citizens, to use the words of Plato, too much "undiluted freedom," by which the people was rendered unruly, just like a horse, and, as the comic poets say, "no longer had the patience to obey the rein, but nabbed Eubœa and trampled on the islands."

VIII. Moreover, by way of providing himself with a style of discourse which was adapted, like a musical instrument, to his mode of life and the grandeur of his sentiments, he often made an auxiliary string

of Anaxagoras, subtly mingling, as it were, with his rhetoric the dye of natural science. It was from natural science, as the divine Plato says, that he "acquired his loftiness of thought and perfectness of execution, in addition to his natural gifts," and by applying what he learned to the art of speaking, he far excelled all other speakers. It was thus, 2
they say, that he got his surname; though some suppose it was from the structures with which he adorned the city, and others from his ability as a statesman and a general, that he was called "Olympian." It is not at all unlikely that his reputation was the result of the blending in him of many high qualities. But 3
the comic poets of that day, who let fly, both in earnest and in jest, many shafts of speech against him, make it plain that he got this surname chiefly because of his diction; they spoke of him as "thundering" and "lightening" when he harangued his audience, and as "wielding a dread thunder-bolt in his tongue."

There is on record also a certain saying of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, touching the clever persuasiveness of Pericles, a saying uttered in jest. Thu- 4
cydides belonged to the party of the "Good and True," and was for a very long time a political antagonist of Pericles. When Archidamus, the King of the Lacedæmonians, asked him whether he or Pericles were the better wrestler, he replied, "Whenever I throw him in wrestling, he disputes the fall, and carries his point, and persuades the very men who saw him fall."

The truth, however, is that even Pericles, with all

his gifts, was cautious in his discourse, so that whenever he came forward to speak he prayed the gods that there might not escape him unawares a single word which was unsuited to the matter under dis-
5 cussion. In writing he left nothing behind him except the decrees which he proposed, and only a few in all of his memorable sayings are preserved, as, for instance, his urging the removal of Ægina as the "eye-sore of the Piræus," and his declaring that he "already beheld war swooping down upon them from Peloponnesus." Once also when Sophocles, who was general with him on a certain naval expedition, praised a lovely boy, he said, "It is not his hands only, Sophocles, that a general must keep clean, but
6 his eyes as well." Again, Stesimbrotus says that, in his funeral oration over those who had fallen in the Samian War, he declared that they had become immortal, like the gods; "the gods themselves," he said, "we cannot see, but from the honors which they receive, and the blessings which they bestow, we conclude that they are immortal." So it was, he said, with those who had given their lives for their country.

IX. Thucydides describes the administration of Pericles as rather aristocratic, — "in name a democracy, but in fact a government by the greatest citizen." But many others say that the people was first led on by him into allotments of public lands, festival-grants, and distributions of fees for public services, thereby falling into bad habits, and becoming luxurious and wanton under the influence of his

public measures, instead of frugal and self-sufficing. Let us therefore examine in detail the reason for this change in him.

In the beginning, as has been said, pitted as he 2
was against the reputation of Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was the inferior in wealth and property, by means of which Cimon would win over the poor, — furnishing a dinner every day to any Athenian who wanted it, bestowing raiment on the elderly men, and removing the fences from his estates that whosoever wished might pluck the fruit, — Pericles, outdone in popular arts of this sort, had recourse to the distribution of the people's own wealth. This was on the advice of Damonides, of the deme Oa, as Aristotle has stated. And soon, what with festival-grants and jurors' wages 3
and other fees and largesses, he bribed the multitude by the wholesale, and used them in opposition to the Council of the Areiopagus. Of this body he himself was not a member, since the lot had not made him either Archon Eponymous, or Archon Thesmothete, or King Archon, or Archon Polemarch. These offices were in ancient times determined by lot, and through these those who properly acquitted themselves were promoted into the Areiopagus. For this reason all the more did Pericles, 4
strong in the affections of the people, lead a successful party against the Council of the Areiopagus. Not only was the Council robbed of most of its jurisdiction by Ephialtes, but Cimon also, on the charge of being a lover of Sparta and a hater of the people,

was ostracized, — a man who yielded to none in wealth and lineage, who had won most glorious victories over the Barbarians, and had filled the city full of money and spoils, as is written in his *Life*. Such was the power of Pericles among the people.

X. Now ostracism involved legally a period of ten years' banishment. But in the mean while the Lacedæmonians invaded the district of Tanagra with a great army, and the Athenians straightway sallied out against them. So Cimon came back from his banishment and stationed himself with his tribesmen in line of battle, and determined by his deeds to rid himself of the charge of too great love for Sparta, in that he shared the perils of his fellow-citizens. But the friends of Pericles banded together and drove him from the ranks, on the ground that he was under sen-
2 tence of banishment. For which reason, it is thought, Pericles fought most sturdily in that battle, and was the most conspicuous one of all in freely offering up his life. And there fell in this battle all the friends of Cimon to a man, whom Pericles had accused with him of too great love for Sparta. Wherefore sore repentance fell upon the Athenians, and a longing desire for Cimon, defeated as they were on the confines of Attica, and expecting as they did a grievous war
3 with the coming of spring. So then Pericles, perceiving this, hesitated not to gratify the desires of the multitude, but wrote with his own hand the bill which recalled the man. Whereupon Cimon came back from banishment and made peace between the cities. For the Lacedæmonians were as kindly dis-

posed towards him as they were full of hatred towards Pericles and the other popular leaders.

Some, however, say that the bill for the restora- 4
tion of Cimon was not drafted by Pericles until a secret compact had been made between them, through the agency of Elpinice, Cimon's sister, to the effect that Cimon should sail out with a fleet of two hundred ships and have command in foreign parts, attempting to subdue the territory of the King, while Pericles should have supreme power in the city. And it was 5
thought that before this, too, Elpinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason. Pericles was at that time one of the committee of prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elpinice's coming to him and supplicating him, said to her with a smile, "Elpinice, thou art an old woman, thou art an old woman, to attempt such tasks." However, he made only one speech, by way of formally performing his commission, and in the end did the least harm to Cimon of all his accusers.

How, then, can one put trust in Idomeneus, who 6
accuses Pericles of assassinating the popular leader Ephialtes, though he was his friend and a partner in his political program, out of mere jealousy and envy of his reputation? These charges he has raked up from some source or other and hurled them, as if so much venom, against one who was perhaps not in all points irreproachable, but who had a noble disposition and an ambitious spirit, wherein no such savage and bestial feelings can have their abode. As 7

for Ephialtes, who was a terror to the oligarchs and inexorable in exacting accounts from those who wronged the people, and in prosecuting them, his enemies laid plots against him, and had him slain secretly by Aristodicus of Tanagra, as Aristotle says. As for Cimon, he died on his campaign in Cyprus.

XI. Then the aristocrats, aware even sometime before this that Pericles was already become the greatest citizen, but wishing nevertheless that there be some one in the city who should stand in array against him and blunt the edge of his power, that it might not be an out and out monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopece, a discreet man and a relative
2 of Cimon, to oppose him. He, being less of a warrior than Cimon, and more of a forensic speaker and statesman, by keeping watch and ward in the city, and by wrestling bouts with Pericles on the bema, soon brought the administration into even poise.

He would not suffer the party of the "Good and True," as they called themselves, to be scattered up and down and blended with the populace, as heretofore, the weight of their character being thus obscured by numbers, but by culling them out and assembling them into one body, he made their collective influence, thus become weighty, as it were a
3 counterpoise in the balance. Now there had been from the beginning a sort of seam lurking beneath the surface of affairs, as in a piece of iron, which faintly indicated a divergence between the popular and the aristocratic program; but the emulous ambition of these two men cut a deep gash in the state,

and caused one section of it to be called the "Demus," or the "People," and the other the "Oligoi," or the "Few." At this time therefore, particularly, Pericles 4
gave the reins to the people, and made his policy one of pleasing them, ever devising some sort of a pageant in the town for the masses, or a feast, or a procession, "amusing them like children with not uncouth delights," and sending out sixty triremes annually, on which large numbers of the citizens sailed about for eight months under pay, practising at the same time and acquiring the art of seamanship. In addition to 5
this, he despatched a thousand settlers to the Chersonesus, and five hundred to Naxos, and to Andros half that number, and a thousand to Thrace to settle with the Bisaltæ, and others to Italy, when the site of Sybaris was settled, which they named Thurii. All this he did by way of lightening the city of its mob of lazy and idle busybodies, rectifying the embarrassments of the poorer people, and giving the allies for neighbors an imposing garrison which should prevent rebellion.

XII. But that which brought most delightful adornment to Athens, and the greatest amazement to the rest of mankind; that which alone now testifies for Hellas that her ancient power and splendor, of which so much is told, was no idle fiction, — I mean his construction of sacred edifices, — this, more than all the public measures of Pericles, his enemies maligned and slandered. They cried out in the assemblies: "The people has lost its fair fame and is in ill repute because it has removed the public moneys

of the Hellenes from Delos into its own keeping, and that seemliest of all excuses which it had to urge against its accusers, to wit, that out of fear of the Barbarians it took the public funds from that sacred isle and was now guarding them in a stronghold, of
2 this Pericles has robbed it. And surely Hellas is insulted with a dire insult and manifestly subjected to tyranny when she sees that, with her own enforced contributions for the war, we are gilding and bedizening our city, which, for all the world like a wanton woman, adds to her wardrobe precious stones and costly statues and temples worth their millions."

3 For his part, Pericles would instruct the people that it owed no account of their moneys to the allies provided it carried on the war for them and kept off the Barbarians; "not a horse do they furnish," said he, "not a ship, not a hoplite, but money simply; and this belongs, not to those who give it, but to those who take it, if only they furnish that for which
4 they take it in pay. And it is but meet that the city, when once she is sufficiently equipped with all that is necessary for prosecuting the war, should apply her abundance to such works as, by their completion, will bring her everlasting glory, and while in process of completion will bring that abundance into actual service, in that all sorts of activity and diversified demands arise, which rouse every art and stir every hand, and bring, as it were, the whole city under pay, so that she not only adorns, but supports herself as well from her own resources."

5 And it was true that his military expeditions sup-

plied those who were in the full vigor of manhood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common laborers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet be feed for laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which would call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the house-and-home contingent, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth. The materials to 6
be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the arts which should elaborate and work up these materials were those of carpenter, moulder, bronze-smith, stone-cutter, dyer, veneerer in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the forwarders and furnishers of the material, such as factors, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by 7
land, wagon-makers, trainers of yoked beasts, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, cobblers, road-builders, and miners. And since each particular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained laborers in compact array, to be as instrument unto player and as body unto soul in subordinate service, it came to pass that for every age, almost, and every capacity there was distributed and scattered abroad by such demands the city's great abundance.

XIII. So then the works arose, no less towering

in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft, and the most wonderful thing about them was the speed with which they rose. Each one of them, men thought, would require many successive generations to complete it, but all of them were fully completed
2 in the heyday of a single administration. And yet they say that once on a time when Agatharcus the painter was boasting loudly of the speed and ease with which he made his figures, Zeuxis heard him, and said, "Mine take, and last, a long time." And it is true that deftness and speed in working do not impart to the work an abiding weight of influence nor an exactness of beauty; whereas the time which is put out to loan in laboriously creating, pays a large and generous interest in the preservation of the crea-
3 tion. For this reason are the works of Pericles all the more to be wondered at; they were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigor it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been built into them.

4 His general manager and general overseer was Pheidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. Of the Parthenon, for instance, with its cella of a hundred feet in length,

Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects; it was Corœbus who began to build the sanctuary of the mysteries at Eleusis, and he planted the columns on the floor and yoked their capitals together with architraves; but on his death Metagenes, of the deme Xypete, carried up the frieze and the upper tier of columns; while Xenocles, of the deme Cholargus, set on high the lantern over the shrine. For the long 5
wall, concerning which Socrates says he himself heard Pericles introduce a measure, Callicrates was the contractor. Cratinus pokes fun at this work for its slow progress, and in these words: —

"since ever so long now
In word has Pericles pushed the thing; in fact he does not budge it."

The Odeum, which was arranged internally with many tiers of seats and many pillars, and which had a roof made with a circular slope from a single peak, they say was an exact reproduction of the Great King's pavilion, and this too was built under the superintendence of Pericles. Wherefore Cratinus, in 6
his "Thracian Women," rails at him again: —

"The squill-head Zeus! lo! here he comes, our Pericles,
The Odeum like a cap upon his cranium,
Now that for good and all the ostracism is o'er."

Then first did Pericles, so fond of honor was he, get a decree passed that a musical contest be held as part of the Panathenaic festival. He himself was elected manager, and prescribed how the contestants must blow the flute, or sing, or pluck the zither. These musical contests were witnessed, both then and thereafter, in the Odeum.

7 The Propylæa of the Acropolis were brought to completion in the space of five years, Mnesicles being their architect. A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a helper both in the inception and in the completion
8 of the work. One of its artificers, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay on the ground in a sorry plight, despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygiæa on the Acropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was there before, as they say.

9 But it was Pheidias who produced the great gilded image of the goddess, and he is duly inscribed on the tablet as the workman who made it. Everything, almost, was under his charge, and all the artists and artisans, as I have said, were under his superintendence, owing to his friendship with Pericles. This brought envy upon the one, and contumely on the other, to the effect that Pheidias made assignations for Pericles with free-born women who would come
10 ostensibly to see the works of art. The comic poets took up this story and bespattered Pericles with charges of abounding wantonness, connecting their slanders with the wife of Menippus, a man who was his friend, and a colleague in the generalship, and

with the bird-culture of Pyrilampes, who, since he was the comrade of Pericles, was accused of suborning with peacocks the women with whom Pericles consorted.

And yet why should any one be astonished that 11
men of wanton life lose no occasion for offering up sacrifices, as it were, of contumelious abuse of their superiors, to the evil deity of popular envy, when even Stesimbrotus of Thasos has ventured to make public charge against Pericles of a dreadful and fabulous impiety with his son's wife? To such de- 12
gree, it seems, is truth hedged about with difficulty and hard to capture by research, since those who come after the events in question find that lapse of time is an obstacle to their proper perception of them; while the research of their contemporaries into men's deeds and lives, partly through envious hatred and partly through fawning flattery, defiles and distorts the truth.

XIV. Thucydides and his party kept denouncing Pericles for playing fast and loose with the public moneys and annihilating the revenues. Pericles therefore asked the people in assembly whether they thought he had expended too much, and on their declaring that it was altogether too much, "Well then," said he, "let it not have been spent on your account, but mine, and I will make the inscription dedicate my own." When Pericles had said this, whether it 2
was that they admired his magnanimity or vied with his ambition to get the glory of his works, they cried out with a loud voice and bade him take freely from

the public funds for his outlays, and to spare naught whatsoever. And finally he ventured to undergo with Thucydides the contest of the ostracism, wherein he secured his rival's banishment, and the dissolution of the faction which had been arrayed against him.

XV. Thus then, seeing that political differences were entirely remitted and the city had become a smooth surface, as it were, and altogether united, he brought under his own control Athens and all the issues dependent on the Athenians, — tributes, armies, triremes, the islands, the sea, the vast power inherent in the Hellenes, vast also in the Barbarians, and a supremacy that was securely hedged about with subject nations, royal friend-
2 ships, and dynastic alliances. But then he was no longer the same man as before, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to yield and give in to the desires of the multitude as a steersman to the breezes. Nay rather, forsaking his former low-keyed and sometimes rather voluptuous management of the people, as it were a flowery and soft melody, he struck the high and clear note of an aristocratic and kingly statesmanship, and employing it for the best interests of all in a direct and
3 undeviating fashion, he led the people, for the most part willingly, by his persuasions and instructions. And yet there were times when they were sorely vexed at him, and then he tightened the reins and forced them into the way of their advantage with a master's hand, for all the world like a wise physician who treats a complicated disease of long stand-

ing occasionally with harmless indulgences to please his patient, and occasionally too with caustics and bitter drugs which work salvation. For whereas all 4
sorts of distempers, as was to be expected, were rife in a rabble which possessed such vast empire, he alone was so endowed by nature that he could manage each one of these cases suitably, and more than anything else he used the people's hopes and fears, like rudders, so to speak, giving timely check to their arrogance, and allaying and comforting their despair. Thus he proved that rhetoric, or the art of speaking, is, to use Plato's words, "an enchantment of the soul," and that her chiefest business is a careful study of the affections and passions, which are, so to speak, strings and stops of the soul, requiring a very judicious fingering and striking. The reason for his 5
success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says, the reputation of his life and the confidence reposed in him as one who was manifestly proven to be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. He made the city, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and richest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants. Some of these actually * hand on their swollen wealth * to their sons, but he did not make his estate a single drachma greater than it was when his father left it to him.

XVI. Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their malicious jibes, calling him and his associates "new Peisis-

tratidæ," and urging him to take solemn oath not to make himself a tyrant, on the plea, forsooth, that his preëminence was incommensurate with a democracy and too oppressive. Telecleides says that the Athe-
2 nians had handed over to him, —

> "With the cities' assessments the cities themselves, to bind or release as he pleases,
> Their ramparts of stone to build up if he likes, and then to pull down again straightway,
> Their treaties, their forces, their might, peace, and riches, and all the fair gifts of good fortune." (Rogers.)

And this was not the fruit of a golden moment, nor the culminating popularity of an administration that bloomed but for a season; nay rather he stood first for forty years among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides,
3 and after the deposition of Thucydides and his ostracism, for no less than fifteen of these years did he secure an imperial sway that was continuous and unbroken, by means of his annual tenure of the office of general.

During all these years he kept himself untainted by corruption, although he was not altogether indifferent to money-making; indeed, the wealth which was legally his by inheritance from his father, that it might not from sheer neglect take to itself wings and fly away, nor yet cause him much trouble and loss of time when he was busy with higher things, he set into such orderly dispensation as he thought
4 was easiest and most exact. This was to sell his annual products all together in the lump, and then to

buy in the market each article as it was needed, and so provide the ways and means of daily life. For this reason he was not liked by his sons when they grew up, nor did their wives find in him a liberal purveyor, but they murmured at this expenditure for the day merely and under the most exact restrictions, there being no surplus of supplies at all, as in a great house and under generous circumstances, but every outlay and every intake proceeding by count and measure. His agent in securing all this great ex- 5
actitude was a single servant, Evangelus, who was either gifted by nature or trained by Pericles so as to surpass everybody else in domestic economy.

It is true that this conduct was not in accord with the wisdom of Anaxagoras, since that philosopher actually abandoned his house and left his land to lie fallow for sheep-grazing, owing to the lofty thoughts with which he was inspired. But the life of a specu- 6
lative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman. The one exercises his intellect without the aid of instruments and independent of external matter for noble ends; whereas the other, inasmuch as he brings his superior excellence into close contact with the common needs of mankind, must sometimes find wealth not merely one of the necessities of life, but also one of its noble things, as was actually the case with Pericles, who gave aid to many poor men. And besides, they say that Anaxa- 7
goras himself, at a time when Pericles was absorbed in business, lay on his couch all neglected, in his old age, starving himself to death, his head already

muffled for departure, and that when the matter had been brought home to Pericles, he was struck with dismay, and ran at once to the poor man, and besought him most fervently to live, bewailing not so much that great teacher's lot as his own, were he now to be bereft of such a counsellor in the conduct of the state. Then Anaxagoras — so the story goes — unmuffled his head and said to him, "Pericles, those who need a lamp pour oil therein."

XVII. When the Lacedæmonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem itself worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe or in Asia, small and large city alike, should be invited to send deputies to a council at Athens. This was to deliberate concerning the Hellenic sanctuaries which the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of Hellas in fulfilment of vows made when they were fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace.
2 To extend this invitation, twenty men, of such as were above fifty years of age, were sent out, five of whom invited the Ionians and Dorians in Asia and on the islands between Lesbos and Rhodes; five visited the regions on the Hellespont and in Thrace as far as Byzantium; five others were sent into Bœotia and Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from here by way of the Ozolian Locrians into the neighboring conti-

nent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia; while the 3
rest proceeded through Eubœa to the Œtæans and the Maliac Gulf and the Phthiotic Achæans and the Thessalians, urging them all to come and take part in the deliberations for the peace and common welfare of Hellas. But nothing was accomplished, nor did the cities come together by deputy, owing to the opposition of the Lacedæmonians, as it is said, since the effort met with its first check in Peloponnesus. I have cited this incident, however, to show forth the man's disposition and the greatness of his thoughts.

XVIII. In his capacity as general, he was famous above all things for his saving caution; he neither undertook of his own accord a battle involving much uncertainty and peril, nor did he envy and imitate those who took great risks, enjoyed brilliant good-fortune, and so were admired as great generals; and he was forever saying to his fellow-citizens that, so far as lay in his power, they would remain alive forever and be immortals.

So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmæus, all 2
on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honor bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportunely, to make an incursion into Bœotia, and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign, — as many as a thousand of them, aside from the rest of his forces, — he tried to restrain and dissuade him in the popular assembly, uttering then that well remembered saying, to wit, that if he would not listen to Pericles, he would yet

do full well to wait for that wisest of all counsellors,
3 Time. This saying brought him only moderate repute at the time; but a few days afterwards, when word was brought that Tolmides himself was dead after defeat in battle near Coroneia, and that many brave citizens were dead likewise, then it brought Pericles great repute as well as good will, for that he was a man of discretion and patriotism.

XIX. Of all his expeditions, that to the Chersonesus was held in most loving remembrance, since it proved the salvation of the Hellenes who dwelt there. Not only did he bring thither a thousand Athenian colonists and stock the cities anew with vigorous manhood, but he also belted the neck of the isthmus with defensive bulwarks from sea to sea, and so intercepted the incursions of the Thracians who
2 swarmed about the Chersonesus, and shut out the perpetual and grievous war in which the country was all the time involved, in close touch as it was with neighboring communities of Barbarians, and full to overflowing of robber bands whose haunts were on or within its borders.

But he was admired and celebrated even amongst foreigners for his circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus, when he put to sea from Pegæ in the Megarid
3 with a hundred triremes. He not only ravaged a great strip of sea-shore, as Tolmides had done before him, but also advanced far into the interior with the hoplites from his ships, and drove all his enemies inside their walls in terror at his approach, excepting only the Sicyonians, who made a stand against him

in Nemea, and joined battle with him; these he routed by main force and set up a trophy of his victory. Then from Achaia, which was friendly to him, 4
he took soldiers on board his triremes, and proceeded with his armament to the opposite mainland, where he sailed up the Achelous, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of Œniadæ behind their walls, and after ravaging and devastating their territory, went off homewards, having shown himself formidable to his enemies, but a safe and efficient leader for his fellow-citizens. For nothing untoward befell, even as result of chance, those who took part in the expedition.

XX. He also sailed into the Euxine Sea with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighboring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesileos. When the tyrant and 2
his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a bill passed providing that six hundred volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopians, dividing up among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied.

But in other matters he did not accede to the vain

impulses of the citizens, nor was he swept along with the tide when they were eager, from a sense of their great power and good fortune, to lay hands again upon Egypt and molest the realms of the King which
3 lay along the sea. Many also were possessed already with that inordinate and inauspicious passion for Sicily which was afterwards kindled into flame by such orators as Alcibiades. And some there were who actually dreamed of Tuscany and Carthage, and that not without a measure of hope, in view of the magnitude of their present supremacy and the full-flowing tide of success in their undertakings.

XXI. But Pericles was ever trying to restrain this extravagance of theirs, to lop off their expansive meddlesomeness, and to divert the greatest part of their forces to the guarding and securing of what they had already won. He considered it a great achievement to hold the Lacedæmonians in check, and set himself in opposition to these in every way, as he showed, above all other things, by what
2 he did in the Sacred War. The Lacedæmonians made an expedition to Delphi while the Phocians had possession of the sanctuary there, and restored it to the Delphians; but no sooner had the Lacedæmonians departed than Pericles made a counter expedition and reinstated the Phocians. And whereas the Lacedæmonians had had the *promanteia*, or right of consulting the oracle in behalf of others also, which the Delphians had bestowed upon them, carved upon the forehead of the bronze wolf in the sanctuary, he secured from the Phocians this high privilege for the

Athenians, and had it chiselled along the right side of the same wolf.

XXII. That he was right in seeking to confine the power of the Athenians within lesser Greece was amply proved by what came to pass. To begin with, the Eubœans revolted, and he crossed over to the island with a hostile force. Then straightway word was brought to him that the Megarians had gone over to the enemy, and that an army of the enemy was on the confines of Attica under the leadership of Pleistoanax, the King of the Lacedæmonians. Ac- 2
cordingly Pericles brought his forces back with speed from Eubœa for the war in Attica. He did not venture to join battle with hoplites who were so many, so brave, and so eager for battle, but seeing that Pleistoanax was a very young man, and that out of all his advisers he set most store by Cleandridas, whom the Ephors had sent along with him, by reason of his youth, to be a guardian and an assistant to him, he secretly made trial of this man's integrity, speedily corrupted him with bribes, and persuaded him to lead the Peloponnesians back out of Attica.

When the army had withdrawn and had been dis- 3
banded to their several cities, the Lacedæmonians, in indignation, laid a heavy fine upon their King, the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so betook himself out of Lacedæmon, while Cleandridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was condemned to death. He was the father of that Gylippus who overcame the Athenians in Sicily. And nature seems

to have imparted covetousness to the son, as it were a congenital disease, owing to which he too, after noble achievements, was caught in base practices and banished from Sparta in disgrace. This story, however, I have told at length in my life of Lysander.

XXIII. When Pericles, in rendering his accounts for this campaign, recorded an expenditure of ten talents as "for sundry needs," the people approved it without officious meddling and without even investigating the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated that every year ten talents went to Sparta from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all the officials there, and so staved off the war, not purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make preparations at his leisure and then carry on war all the better.
2 However that may be, he straightway turned his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to Eubœa with fifty ships of war and five thousand hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the Chalcidians who were styled *Hippobotæ*, or Knights, and who were preëminent for wealth and reputation, he banished their city, and all the Hestiæans he removed from the country and settled Athenians in their places, treating them, and them only, thus inexorably, because they had taken an Attic ship captive and slain its crew.

XXIV. After this, when peace had been made for thirty years between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, he got a decree passed for his expedition to Samos, alleging against its people that, though they

were ordered to break off their war against the Milesians, they were not complying.

Now, since it is thought that he proceeded thus against the Samians to gratify Aspasia, this may be a fitting place to raise the query what great art or power this woman had that she managed as she pleased the foremost men of the state, and afforded the philosophers occasion to discuss her in exalted terms and at great length. That she was a Milesian 2 by birth, daughter of one Axiochus, is generally agreed; and they say that it was in emulation of Thargelia, an Ionian woman of ancient times, that she made her onslaughts upon the most influential men. This Thargelia came to be a great beauty and was endowed with grace of manners as well as clever wits. Inasmuch as she lived on terms of intimacy with numberless Greeks, and attached all her consorts to the King of Persia, she stealthily sowed the seeds of Persian sympathy in the cities of Greece by means of these lovers of hers, who were men of the greatest power and influence. And so Aspasia, as some say, 3 was held in high favor by Pericles because of her rare political wisdom. Socrates sometimes came to see her with his disciples, and his intimate friends brought their wives to her to hear her discourse, although she presided over a business that was anything but honest or even reputable, since she kept a house of young courtesans. And Æschines the Socratic says 4 that Lysicles the sheep-dealer, a man of low birth and nature, came to be the first man at Athens by living with Aspasia after the death of Pericles. And in

the *Menexenus* of Plato, even though the first part of it be written in a sportive vein, there is, at any rate, thus much of history, that the woman had the reputation of associating with many Athenians as a teacher
5 of rhetoric. However, the affection which Pericles had for Aspasia seems to have been rather of an amatory sort. For his own wife was near of kin to him, and had been wedded first to Hipponicus, to whom she bore Callias, surnamed the Rich; she bore also, as the wife of Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. Afterwards, since their married life was not agreeable, he legally bestowed her upon another man, with her own consent, and himself took Aspasia, and loved her
6 exceedingly. Twice a day, as they say, on going out and on coming in from the market-place, he would salute her with a loving kiss.

In the comedies she is styled now the New Omphale, and now Deianeira, and now Hera. Cratinus flatly called her a prostitute in these lines: —

> "As his Hera, Aspasia was born, the child of Unnatural Lust,
> A prostitute past shaming."

And it appears also that he begat from her that bastard son about whom Eupolis, in his *Demes*, represented him as enquiring with these words: —

> "And my bastard, doth he live?"

to which Myronides replies: —

> "Yea, and long had been a man,
> Had he not feared the mischief of his harlot-birth."

7 So renowned and celebrated did Aspasia become, they say, that even Cyrus, the one who went to war

with the Great King for the sovereignty of the Persians, gave the name of Aspasia to that one of his concubines whom he loved best, who before was called Milto. She was a Phocæan by birth, daughter of one Hermotimus, and, after Cyrus had fallen in battle, was carried captive to the King, and acquired the greatest influence with him. These things coming to my recollection as I write, it were perhaps unnatural to reject and pass them by.

XXV. But to return to the war against the Samians, they accuse Pericles of getting the decree for this passed at the request of Aspasia and in the special behalf of the Milesians. For the two cities were waging their war for the possession of Priene, and the Samians were getting the better of it, and when the Athenians ordered them to stop the contest and submit the case to arbitration at Athens, they would not obey. So Pericles set sail and broke up the oligarchical government which Samos had, and then took fifty of the foremost men of the state, with as many of their children, as hostages, and sent them off to Lemnos. And yet they say that every one of 2
these hostages offered him a talent on his own account, and that the opponents of democracy in the city offered him many talents besides. And still further, Pissouthnes, the Persian satrap, who had much good-will towards the Samians, sent him ten thousand gold staters and interceded for the city. However, Pericles took none of these bribes, but treated the Samians just as he had determined, set up a democracy, and sailed back to Athens. Then the Sa- 3

mians at once revolted, after Pissouthnes had filched away their hostages from Lemnos for them, and in other ways equipped them for the war. Once more, therefore, Pericles set sail against them. They were not victims of sloth, nor yet of abject terror, but full of exceeding zeal in their determination to contest the supremacy of the sea. In a fierce sea-fight which came off near an island called Tragia, Pericles won a brilliant victory, with four and forty ships outfighting seventy, twenty of which were infantry transports.

XXVI. Close on the heels of his victorious pursuit came his seizure of the harbor, and then he laid formal siege to the Samians, who, somehow or other, still had the daring to sally forth and fight with him before their walls. But soon a second and a larger armament came from Athens, and the Samians were completely beleaguered and shut in. Then Pericles took sixty triremes and sailed out into the main sea, as most authorities say, because he wished to meet a fleet of Phœnician ships which was coming to the aid of the Samians, and fight it at as great a distance from Samos as possible; but according to Stesimbrotus, because he had designs on Cyprus, which seems
2 incredible. But in any case, whichever design he cherished, he seems to have made a mistake. For no sooner had he sailed off than Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher who was then acting as general at Samos, despising either the small number of the ships that were left, or the inexperience of the generals in charge of them, persuaded his fellow-citizens to make an attack upon the Athenians. In

the battle that ensued the Samians were victorious, taking many of their enemy captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that they commanded the sea and laid in large store of such necessaries for the war as they did not have before. And Aristotle says that 3
Pericles was himself also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which preceded this.

The Samians retaliated upon the Athenians by branding their prisoners in the forehead with owls; for the Athenians had once branded some of them with the *samœna*. Now the *samœna* is a ship of war with a boar's head design for prow and ram, but more capacious than usual and paunchlike, so that it is a good deep-sea traveller and a swift sailer too. It 4
got this name because it made its first appearance in Samos, where Polycrates the tyrant had some built. To these brand-marks, they say, the verse of Aristophanes made riddling reference: —

"For oh! how lettered is the folk of the Samians!"

XXVII. Be that true or not, when Pericles learned of the disaster which had befallen his fleet, he came speedily to its aid. And though Melissus arrayed his forces against him, he conquered and routed the enemy and at once walled their city in, preferring to get the upper hand and capture it at the price of money and time, rather than of the wounds and deadly perils of his fellow-citizens. And since it was 2
a hard task for him to restrain the Athenians in their impatience of delay and eagerness to fight, he separated his whole force into eight divisions, had them

draw lots, and allowed the division which got the white bean to feast and take their ease, while the others did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they say, why those who have had a gay and festive time call it a "white day," — from the white bean.

3 Ephorus says that Pericles actually employed siege-engines, in his admiration of their novelty, and that Artemon the engineer was with him there, who, since he was lame, and so had to be brought on a stretcher to the works which demanded his instant attention, was dubbed "Periphoretus." Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus is mentioned many generations before the Samian War and its
4 events. And he says that Artemon was very luxurious in his life, as well as weak and panic-stricken in the presence of his fears, and therefore for the most part sat still at home, while two servants held a bronze shield over his head to keep anything from falling down upon it. Whenever he was forced to go abroad, he had himself carried in a little hammock which was borne along just above the surface of the ground. On this account he was called "Periphoretus."

XXVIII. After eight months the Samians surrendered, and Pericles tore down their walls, took away their ships of war, and laid a heavy fine upon them, part of which they paid at once, and part they agreed to pay at a fixed time, and gave hostages therefor. To these details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides,

nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle. But he appears not to 2
speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into the market-place of Miletus and crucified there, and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast their bodies forth without burial rites. At all events, 3
since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians.

When Pericles, after his subjection of Samos, had returned to Athens, he appointed honorable funeral rites for those who had fallen in the war, and for the oration which he made, according to the custom, over their tombs, he won the greatest admiration. But as 4
he came down from the bema, while the rest of the women clasped his hand and fastened wreaths and fillets on his head, as though he were some victorious athlete, Elpinice drew nigh and said: "This is admirable in thee, Pericles, and deserving of wreaths, in that thou hast lost us many brave citizens, not in a war with Phœnicians or Medes, like my brother Cimon, but in the subversion of an allied and kindred city." On Elpinice's saying this, Pericles, with a 5
quiet smile, it is said, quoted to her the verse of Archilochus: —

"Thou hadst not else, in spite of years, perfumed thyself."

Ion says that he had the most astonishingly great thoughts of himself for having subjected the Samians; whereas Agamemnon was all of ten years in taking a barbarian city, he had in nine months' time taken the foremost and most powerful people of Ionia.
6 And indeed his estimate of himself was not unjust, nay, the war actually brought with it much uncertainty and great peril, if indeed, as Thucydides says, the city of Samos came within a very little of stripping from Athens her power on the sea.

XXIX. After this, when the billows of the Peloponnesian War were already rising and swelling, he persuaded the people to send aid and succor to the Corcyræans in their war with the Corinthians, and so to attach to themselves an island with a vigorous naval power at a time when the Peloponnesians were
2 as good as actually at war with them. But when the people had voted to send the aid and succor, he despatched Lacedæmonius, the son of Cimon, with only ten ships, as it were in mockery of him. Now there was much good-will and friendship on the part of the house of Cimon towards the Lacedæmonians. In order, therefore, that in case no great or conspicuous achievement should be performed under the generalship of Lacedæmonius, he might so be all the more calumniated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent
3 him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since

one of them bore the name of Lacedæmonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia.

Accordingly, being harshly criticised because of these paltry ten ships, on the ground that he had furnished scanty aid and succor to the needy friends of Athens, but a great pretext for war to her accusing enemies, he afterwards sent out other ships, and more of them, to Corcyra, — the ones which got there after the battle.

The Corinthians were incensed at this procedure, 4
and denounced the Athenians at Sparta, and were joined by the Megarians, who brought their complaint that from every market-place and from all the harbors over which the Athenians had control, they were excluded and driven away, contrary to the common law and the formal oaths of the Greeks; the Æginetans also, deeming themselves wronged and outraged, kept up a secret wailing in the ears of the Lacedæmonians, since they had not the courage to accuse the Athenians openly. At this juncture Potidæa too, a city that was subject to Athens, although a colony of Corinth, revolted, and the siege laid to her hastened on the war all the more.

Notwithstanding all, since embassies were repeat- 5
edly sent to Athens, and since Archidamus, the King of the Lacedæmonians, tried to bring to a peaceful settlement most of the accusations of his allies and to soften their anger, it does not seem probable that the war would have come upon the Athenians for any

remaining reasons, if only they could have been persuaded to rescind their decree against the Megarians and be reconciled with them. And therefore, since it was Pericles who was most of all opposed to this, and who incited the people to abide by their contention with the Megarians, he alone was held responsible for the war.

XXX. They say that when an embassy had come from Lacedæmon to Athens to treat of these matters, and Pericles was shielding himself behind the plea that a certain law prevented his taking down the tablet on which the decree was inscribed, Polyalces, one of the ambassadors, cried: "Well then, don't take it down, but turn the tablet to the wall; surely there 's no law preventing that." Smart as the proposal was, however, not one whit the more did Peri-
2 cles give in. He must have secretly cherished, then, as it seems, some private grudge against the Megarians; but by way of public and open charge he accused them of appropriating to their own profane uses the sacred territory of Eleusis, and proposed a decree that a herald be sent to them, the same to go also to the Lacedæmonians with a denunciation
3 of the Megarians. This decree, at any rate, is the work of Pericles, and aims at a reasonable and humane justification of his course. But after the herald who was sent, Anthemocritus, had been put to death through the agency of the Megarians, as it was believed, Charinus proposed a decree against them, to the effect that there be irreconcilable and implacable enmity on the part of Athens towards them, and that

whosoever of the Megarians should set foot on the soil of Attica be punished with death; and that the generals, whenever they should take their ancestral oath of office, add to their oath this clause, that they would invade the Megarid twice during each succeeding year; and that Anthemocritus be buried honorably at the Thriasian gate, which is now called the Dipylum.

But the Megarians denied the murder of Anthe- 4
mocritus, and threw the blame for Athenian hate on Aspasia and Pericles, appealing to those far-famed and hackneyed versicles of the *Acharnians*:—

> "Simætha, harlot, *one* of Megara's womankind,
> Was stolen by gilded youths more drunk than otherwise;
> And so the Megarians, pangs of wrath all reeking hot,
> Paid back the theft and raped of Aspasia's harlots *two*."

XXXI. Well then, whatever the original ground for enacting the decree, — and it is no easy matter to determine this, — the fact that it was not rescinded all men alike lay to the charge of Pericles. Only, some say that he persisted in his refusal in a lofty spirit and with a clear perception of the best interests of the city, regarding the injunction laid upon it as a test of its submissiveness, and its compliance as a confession of weakness; while others hold that it was rather with a sort of arrogance and love of strife, as well as for the display of his power, that he scornfully defied the Lacedæmonians.

But the worst charge of all, and yet the one which 2
has the most vouchers, runs something like this. Pheidias the sculptor was contractor for the great

statue, as I have said, and being admitted to the friendship of Pericles, and acquiring the greatest influence with him, made some enemies through the jealousy which he excited; others also made use of him to test the people and see what sort of a judge it would be in a case where Pericles was involved. These latter persuaded one Menon, an assistant of Pheidias, to take a suppliant's seat in the market-place and demand immunity from punishment in case he should bring information and accusation against
3 Pheidias. The people accepted the man's proposal, and formal prosecution of Pheidias was made in the Assembly. Embezzlement, indeed, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that it could all be taken off and weighed, and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time.

4 But the reputation of his works nevertheless brought a burden of jealous hatred upon Pheidias, and especially the fact that when he wrought the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the attitude of the hand, which holds out a spear in front of the face of Pericles, is cunningly contrived as it were with a desire to conceal the resemblance, which is, however, plain to be seen from either side.

Pheidias, accordingly, was led away to prison, and 5
died there of sickness; but some say of poison which the enemies of Pericles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on motion of Glycon, the people gave immunity from taxation, aud enjoined upon the generals to make provision for the man's safety.

XXXII. About this time also Aspasia was put on trial for impiety, Hermippus the comic poet being her prosecutor, who alleged further against her that she received free-born women into a place of assignation for Pericles. And Diopeithes brought in a bill providing for the public impeachment of such as did not believe in gods, or who taught doctrines regarding the higher matters, directing suspicion against Pericles by means of Anaxagoras. The people accepted with 2
delight these slanders, and so, while they were in this mood, a bill was passed, on motion of Dracontides, that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the Prytanes, and that the jurors should decide upon his case with ballots which had lain upon the altar of the goddess on the Acropolis. But Hagnon amended this clause of the bill with the motion that the case be tried before fifteen hundred jurors in the ordinary way, whether one wanted to call it a prosecution for embezzlement, or bribery, or malversation.

Well then, Aspasia he begged off, by shedding 3
copious tears at the trial, as Æschines says, and by entreating the jurors; and he feared for Anaxagoras so much that he sent him away from the

city. And since in the case of Pheidias he had come into collision with the people, he feared the jury in his own case, and so kindled into flame the threatening and smouldering war, hoping thereby to dissipate the charges made against him and allay the people's jealousy, inasmuch as when great undertakings were on foot, and great perils threatened, the city entrusted herself to him and to him alone, by reason of his worth and power.

Such, then, are the reasons which are alleged for his not suffering the people to yield to the Lacedæmonians; but the truth about it is not clear.

XXXIII. The Lacedæmonians, perceiving that if he were deposed they would find the Athenians more pliant in their hands, ordered them to drive out "the pollution," in which the family of Pericles on his mother's side was involved, as Thucydides says. But the attempt brought a result the opposite of what its makers designed, for in place of suspicion and slander Pericles won even greater confidence and honor among the citizens than before, because they saw that their enemies hated and feared him above all other men.

2 Therefore also, before Archidamus invaded Attica with the Peloponnesians, Pericles made public proclamation to the Athenians, that in case Archidamus, while ravaging everything else, should spare his estates, either out of regard for the friendly tie that existed between them, or with an eye to affording his enemies grounds for slander, he would make over to the city his lands and the homesteads thereon.

Well then, the Lacedæmonians and their allies in- 3
vaded Attica with a great host under the leadership of Archidamus the King. And they advanced, ravaging the country as they went, as far as Acharnæ, where they encamped, supposing that the Athenians would not tolerate it, but would fight with them out of angry pride. Pericles, however, looked upon 4
it as a terrible thing to join battle with sixty thousand Peloponnesian and Bœotian hoplites (those who made the first invasion were as numerous as that), and stake the city itself upon the issue. So he tried to calm down those who were eager to fight, and who were in distress at what the enemy was doing, by saying that trees, though cut and lopped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed it was not easy to get them again. And he would not call the people to- 5
gether into an assembly, fearing that he would be constrained against his better judgment, but, like the helmsman of a ship, who, when a stormy wind swoops down upon it in the open sea, makes all fast, takes in sail, and exercises his skill, disregarding the tears and entreaties of the sea-sick and timorous passengers, so he shut the city up tight, put all parts of it under safe garrison, and exercised his own judgment, little heeding the brawlers and malcontents. And 6
yet many of his friends beset him with entreaties, and many of his enemies with threats and denunciations, and many sang songs of scurrilous mockery, railing at his generalship for its cowardice, and its abandonment of everything to the enemy. Cleon too was already harassing him, taking advantage of

the wrath with which the citizens regarded him to make his own way toward the leadership of the people, as these anapæstic verses of Hermippus show: —

> "Thou king of the Satyrs, why pray wilt thou not
> Take the spear for thy weapon, and stop the dire talk
> With the which, until now, thou conductest the war,
> While the soul of a Teles is in thee?
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> At a bite from the tawny old Cleon."

XXXIV. However, Pericles was moved by no such things, but gently and silently underwent the ignominy and the hatred, and, sending out an armament of a hundred ships against the Peloponnesus, did not himself sail with it, but remained behind, keeping the city under watch and ward and well in hand, until the Peloponnesians withdrew. Then, by way of soothing the multitude, who, in spite of their enemies' departure, were distressed over the war, he won their favor by distributions of moneys and proposed allotments of conquered lands; the Æginetans, for instance, he drove out entirely, and parcelled out
2 their island among the Athenians by lot. And some consolation was to be had from what their enemies suffered. For the expedition around the Peloponnesus ravaged much territory and sacked villages and small cities, while Pericles himself, by land, invaded the Megarid and razed it all. Wherein also it was evident that though their enemies did the Athenians much harm, they suffered much too at their hands by sea, and therefore would not have protracted the

war to such a length, but would have speedily given up, just as Pericles prophesied in the beginning, had not a terrible visitation from heaven thwarted human calculations.

As it was, in the first place, a pestilential destruc- 3
tion fell upon them and pastured clean the flower of their youth and power. It weakened them in body and in spirit, and made them altogether wild against Pericles, so that, for all the world as the sick will attack a physician or a father, so they, in the delirium of the plague, attempted to do him harm, persuaded thereto by his enemies. These urged that the plague was caused by the crowding of the rustic multitudes together into the city, where, in the summer season, 4
many were huddled together in small dwellings and stifling barracks, and compelled to lead a stay-at-home and inactive life, instead of living in the pure and open air of heaven as they were wont. They said that Pericles was responsible for this, who, because of the war, had poured the rabble from the country into the walled city, and then gave that mass of men no employment whatever, but suffered them, thus penned up like cattle, to fill one another full of destruction, and provided them no change or respite.

XXXV. Desiring to heal these evils, and at the same time to inflict some annoyance upon the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships of war, and, after embarking many brave hoplites and horsemen, was on the point of putting out to sea, affording great hope to the citizens, and no less fear to the enemy in consequence of so great a force. But when

the ships were already manned, and Pericles had gone aboard his own trireme, it chanced that the sun was eclipsed and darkness came on, and all were thoroughly frightened, looking upon it as a great portent.
2 Accordingly, seeing that his steersman was timorous and utterly perplexed, Pericles held up his cloak before the man's eyes, and, thus covering them, asked him if he thought it anything dreadful or portentous of anything dreadful. "No," said the steersman. "How then," said Pericles, "is yonder event different from this, except that it is something rather larger than my cloak which has caused the obscurity?" At any rate, this tale is told in the schools of philosophy.

3 Well then, on sailing forth, Pericles seems to have accomplished nothing worthy of his preparations, but after laying siege to sacred Epidaurus, which awakened a hope that it might be captured, he had no such good fortune, because of the plague. This raged not only among the Athenians themselves, but also destroyed those who, in any manner soever, had dealings with their forces.

The Athenians being exasperated against him on this account, he tried to appease and encourage them.
4 He did not, however, succeed in allaying their wrath, nor yet in changing their purposes, before they got their hostile ballots into their hands, became masters of his fate, stripped him of his command, and punished him with a fine. The amount of this was fifteen talents, according to those who give the lowest, and fifty, according to those who give the highest

figures. The public prosecutor mentioned in the records of the case was Cleon, as Idomeneus says, but, according to Theophrastus, it was Simmias, and Heracleides Ponticus mentions Lacratides.

XXXVI. So much then for his public troubles; they were likely soon to cease, now that the multitude had smitten him and left their passion in him like a sting; but his domestic affairs were in a sorry plight, since he had lost not a few of his intimate friends during the pestilence, and had for some time been beset and sore afflicted by a family feud. The eldest of his legitimate sons, Xanthippus, who was naturally prodigal, and had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, the son of Epilycus, was much displeased at his father's exactitude in making him but a meagre allowance, and that a little at a time. Accordingly, he sent to one 2
of his father's friends and got money, pretending that Pericles bade him do it. When the friend afterwards demanded payment of the loan, Pericles not only refused it, but brought suit against him to boot. So the young fellow, Xanthippus, incensed at this, went to abusing his father, publishing abroad, to make men laugh, his conduct of affairs at home, and the discourses which he held with the sophists. For 3
instance, a certain athlete had hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin, accidentally, and killed him, and Pericles, Xanthippus said, squandered an entire day discussing with Protagoras whether it was the javelin, or better the one who hurled it, or the judges of the contests, that "in the strictest sense" ought to be

held responsible for the disaster. Besides all this, the slanderous charge concerning his own wife Stesimbrotus says was sown abroad in public by Xanthippus himself, and also that the quarrel which the young man had with his father remained utterly incurable up to the time of his death, — for Xanthippus fell sick and died during the plague.

4 Pericles lost his sister also at that time, and of his relatives and friends the largest part, and those who were most serviceable to him in his administration of the city. He did not, however, give up, nor yet abandon his loftiness and grandeur of spirit because of his calamities, nay, he was not even seen to weep, either at the funeral rites, or at the grave of any of his connections, until indeed he lost the very last remaining one of his own legitimate sons, Paralus.

5 Even though he was bowed down at this stroke, he nevertheless tried to persevere in his calmness and maintain his spiritual greatness, but as he laid a wreath upon the dead, he was vanquished by his anguish at the sight, so that he broke out into wailing, and shed a multitude of tears, although he had never done any such thing in all his life before.

XXXVII. The city made trial of its other generals and counsellors for the conduct of the war, but since no one appeared to have weight that was adequate or authority that was competent for such leadership, it yearned for Pericles, and summoned him back to the bema and the war-office. He lay dejectedly at home because of his sorrow, but was persuaded by Alcibiades and the rest of his friends to resume his

public life. When the people had apologized for 2
their thankless treatment of him, and he had undertaken again the conduct of the state, and been elected general, he asked for a suspension of the law concerning children born out of wedlock, — a law which he himself had formerly introduced, — in order that the name and lineage of his house might not altogether expire through lack of succession.

The circumstances of this law were as follows. 3
Many years before this, when Pericles was at the height of his political career and had sons born in wedlock, as I have said, he proposed a law that only those should be reckoned Athenians whose parents on both sides were Athenians. And so when the King of Egypt sent a present to the people of forty thousand measures of grain, and this had to be divided up among the citizens, there was a great crop of prosecutions against citizens of illegal birth by the law of Pericles, who had up to that time escaped notice and been overlooked, and many of them also suffered at the hands of informers. As a result, a little less 4
than five thousand were convicted and sold into slavery, and those who retained their citizenship and were adjudged to be Athenians were found, as a result of this scrutiny, to be fourteen thousand and forty in number. It was, accordingly, a grave mat- 5
ter, that the law which had been rigorously enforced against so many should now be suspended by the very man who had introduced it, and yet the calamities which Pericles was then suffering in his family life, regarded as a kind of penalty which he had paid

for his arrogance and haughtiness of old, broke down the objections of the Athenians. They thought that what he suffered was by way of retribution, and that what he asked became a man to ask and men to grant, and so they suffered him to enroll his illegitimate son in the phratry-lists and to give him his own name. This was the son who afterwards conquered the Peloponnesians in a naval battle at the Arginusæ islands, and was put to death by the people along with his fellow-generals.

XXXVIII. At that time, it would seem, the plague laid hold of Pericles, not with a violent attack, as in the case of others, nor acute, but one which, with a kind of sluggish distemper that prolonged itself through varying changes, used up his body slowly and undermined the loftiness of his
2 spirit. Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his *Ethics*, querying whether one's character follows the bent of one's fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellence, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.
3 Being now near his end, the best of the citizens and those of his friends who survived were sitting around him holding discourse of his excellence and power, how great they had been, and estimating all his achievements and the number of his trophies, — there were nine of these which he had set up as the
4 city's victorious general. This discourse they were

holding with one another, supposing that he no longer understood them but had lost consciousness. He had been attending to it all, however, and speaking out among them said he was amazed at their praising and commemorating that in him which was due as much to fortune as to himself, and which had fallen to the lot of many generals besides, instead of mentioning his fairest and greatest title to their admiration; "for," said he, "no living Athenian through my instrumentality ever put on mourning."

XXXIX. So, then, the man is to be admired not only for his reasonableness and the gentleness which he maintained in the midst of many responsibilities and great enmities, but also for his loftiness of spirit, seeing that he regarded it as the noblest of all his titles to honor that he had never gratified his envy or his passion in the exercise of his vast power, nor treated any one of his foes as such incurably. And it seems to me that his otherwise puerile and pom- 2
pous surname is rendered unobjectionable and becoming by this one circumstance, that it was so gracious a nature and a life so pure and undefiled in the exercise of sovereign power which were called Olympian, inasmuch as we do firmly hold that the divine rulers and kings of the universe are capable only of good, and incapable of evil. In this we are not like the poets, 3
who confuse us with their ignorant fancies, and are convicted of inconsistency by their own poems, since they declare that the place where they say the gods dwell is "a secure abode" and tranquil, without experience of winds and clouds, but gleaming through

all the unbroken time with the soft radiance of a pure light,—implying that such a manner of existence is becoming to the blessed immortal. And yet they represent the gods themselves as full of malice and hatred and wrath and other passions which ill become even men of any sense. But this, perhaps, will be thought matter for discussion elsewhere.

4 The progress of events wrought in the Athenians a swift appreciation of Pericles and a keen sense of his loss. For those who, while he lived, were oppressed by a sense of his power and felt that it kept them in obscurity, straightway on his removal made trial of other orators and popular leaders, only to be led to the confession that a character more moderate than his in its solemn dignity, and more august in
5 its gentleness, had not been created. That objectionable power of his, which they had used to call monarchy and tyranny, seemed to them then to have been a saving bulwark of the constitution, so greatly was the state afflicted by the corruption and manifold baseness which he had kept in weakness and humility, thereby covering it out of sight, and preventing it from becoming incurably powerful.

THE *FUNERAL ORATION* OF PERICLES

(THUCYDIDES, ii. 35–46)

THE
FUNERAL ORATION OF PERICLES

MOST of my predecessors in this office have commended him who added such a speech as this to our customary funeral rites, on the ground that it is fit and proper to have such an address made over the bodies of those who are brought home from the wars for burial. To me, however, it would seem sufficient, in the case of men who have proved themselves brave by their deeds, by deeds also to set forth their honors, as for instance by this public burial rite which you see provided here, without setting faith in the virtues of many men at hazard on the lips of one, according as he may speak well or ill. It is hard for a speaker to observe due moderation in a case where his hearer can scarcely be made to cherish a proper conception of the truth. For the hearer who is acquainted with the facts and well disposed toward the dead, will possibly deem the setting forth of praise all too sparing in the light of his own desires and knowledge; while he who is without knowledge in the case will suspect exaggeration here and there, because he is jealous on hearing of aught that surpasses his own powers. Men tolerate the praises of other men only so far as they think themselves capable,

35. Although this custom of the funeral speech has its perils, I will try to conform to it.

every one, of performing the deeds recited to them; but when such deeds are beyond them, they are jealous at once and incredulous. However, since our forefathers have sanctioned this practice, it is meet that I in my turn should observe the custom, and try to satisfy your wishes and beliefs, in every case, to the utmost of my powers.

I will speak first of our remoter ancestors, for it is not only right but proper as well that on an occasion like this such honorable mention of them be made. It was they who inhabited this Attic land of ours from time immemorial, generation after generation, and it was due to their valor that we received it from them the free land it is to-day. They are worthy of our praises, but still more than they our nearer fathers, who added to their inheritance the great empire we now possess, not without great toils, and bequeathed it to us of the present day. Most of its development has been due to those of us who are still in perhaps the most competent years of life, and we have equipped our city with all that can make her most sufficient unto herself in war and in peace. Of the military exploits by which our various possessions were won, or of the zeal with which either our fathers or we ourselves have driven off invaders, Hellenic or Barbarian, I will not speak; the tale would be long, and you know it well. I wish rather to prelude my praise of these dead warriors of ours with an exposition of the general principles by virtue of which

36. Much as might be said in praise of the fathers near and remote, and of their military exploits or our own, I prefer to dwell, as a prelude to my praise of these dead warriors, on the character of our city.

we came to empire, and of the civic institutions and manners of life in consequence of which our empire became great. I conceive that such utterances are not unsuited to the occasion, and that it will profit all this throng of citizens and strangers to hear them.

We enjoy a form of government which is not in rivalry with the institutions of our neighbors, nay, we ourselves are rather an ensample to many than imitators of others. By name, since the administration is not in the hands of few but of many, it is called a democracy. And it is true that before the law and in private cases all citizens are on an equality. But in public life every man is advanced to honor according to his reputation for ability, — not because of his party, but because of his excellence. And further, provided he is able to do the city good service, not even in poverty does he find any hindrance, since this cannot obscure men's good opinion of him. It is with a free spirit that we engage in public life, and in our scrutiny of one another's private life we are not filled with wrath at our neighbor if he consults his pleasure now and then, nor do we cast sour glances at him. These may do him no actual harm, but they offend his eye. Our private intercourse is thus free from all constraint, but in public matters we are kept back from transgression, and that too, for the most part, by a wholesome fear. This leads us to obey the regular magistrates and the laws,

37. Our civil polity fosters equality before the law, an aristocracy of public service to which poverty is no bar, tolerance in private life, and a wholesome regard for written and unwritten laws.

especially such as are enacted for the aid of the oppressed, and such as are unwritten and therefore involve their transgressor in a universal reprobation.

38. Public and private life are sweetened by refined enjoyments, and the whole earth ministers to us.

Furthermore, we above all men provide ourselves with spiritual refreshment after toil. Regular games and religious festivals fill our year, while the life we lead in private is refined. The daily enjoyment of all these blessings keeps dull care at bay. Because of the greatness of our city, the products of the whole earth stream in upon us, so that we enjoy the rich fruits of other men's labors with as intimate a relish as our own. Moreover, even in our military training we surpass our rivals. We give all men the freedom of our city, and never banish strangers merely to keep them from learning or seeing what, if there is no concealment, many a foe might see to his advantage. We put our trust not so much in deceitful diplomacy as in our own courageous efficiency. And in the matter of education, they devote themselves to toilsome exercises, from their very youth up, in order to achieve manliness; while we live far less strenuous lives, and yet are no less able to cope with the dangers which confront us. This can be proved. The Lacedæmonians invade our land not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy, whereas we go alone into the land of our neighbors. And yet, though we are fighting on a foreign soil with men who are defend-

39. Our training for military efficiency is a culture of the whole man rather than of his body merely. This enables us to face danger with vivacity and native valor when it actually comes, and not before. Our city is something more than a military school.

ing their homes, we usually have no difficulty in overpowering them. No foe has yet met our entire military force, because we not only support a navy, but on land too must send our own citizen soldiers on many undertakings. But they, when they happen to engage a small band of us, if they conquer a few of us, boast of having routed our whole force, and if they are beaten, protest that they were worsted by us all. If then we are determined to meet our perils with light hearts rather than after toilsome training, and with a valor based on character rather than on compulsion, the advantage is with us. We are not always anticipating the pain of future sufferings, and yet, as we face a crisis, we show ourselves no whit less daring than those who are forever enduring hardships. And besides, our city deserves men's admiration for other things as well as for her exploits in war. For we cherish beauty in all simplicity, and wisdom without effeminacy. Our wealth supports timely action rather than noisy speech, and as for poverty, the admission of it is no disgrace to a man; not to forge one's way out of it is the real disgrace. The same citizens among us will be found devoted to their homes and to the state, and others who are immersed in business have no mean knowledge of politics. We are the only people to regard the man who takes no interest in politics not as careless, but as useless. In one and the same citizen body we either decide matters, or

40. We cherish beauty and wisdom as well as power; we are interested in home and state alike; we encourage discussion as the pathway to intelligent and successful action; we make friends by conferring rather than by receiving favors.

seek to form correct opinions about them, and we do not regard words as incompatible with deeds, but rather the refusal to learn by discussion before advancing to the necessary action. We are preëminent in this, that we combine in the same citizen body great courage to undertake, and ample discussion of our undertakings; whereas in other men it is ignorance that gives boldness, and discussion that produces hesitation. Surely they will rightly be judged the bravest souls who most clearly distinguish the pains and pleasures of life, and therefore do not avoid danger. In our benevolence also we are the opposite of most men; it is not by receiving, but by conferring favors that we win our friends. And he is a more constant friend who confers the favor and then tries to keep alive in the recipient, by continued kindness, a sense of obligation for it; whereas he who owes a favor is not so keen a friend, because he knows that when he repays the benevolence it will not be counted him as a favor conferred, but as a debt paid. We are the only men who aid our fellows not from calculation of our own advantage, but rather with a fearless trust which springs from true liberality. To sum up: I declare that our city in general is the school of Hellas, and that each individual man of us will, in my opinion, show himself able to exercise the most varied forms of activity with the greatest ease and grace. That this is no passing boast, but an actual truth, is shown by the power which our city has acquired

41. In short, our city is a school for Hellas, and her power and glory need no bards to make them live, since they have adequate monuments the world

in virtue of these traits of ours. She is the only city which surpasses her fame when put to the test; the only one which inspires neither resentment in her enemy for the disastrous consequences of attacking her, nor scorn in her subject because her empire is an unworthy one. Accompanied by great tokens and by no means without witness is this power which we display for the admiration of present and future generations. We need no Homer to sing our praises, nor any poet whose verses shall give fleeting delight, while his notion of the facts suffers at the hands of truth; nay, we have forced every sea and land to be pathways for our daring, and have everywhere established reminders of what our enmity or our friendship means, and they will abide forever. It was for such a city, then, that these dead warriors of ours so nobly gave their lives in battle; they deemed it their right not to be robbed of her, and every man who survives them should gladly toil in her behalf.

over. It was for such a city that these dead warriors gladly gave their lives.

I have thus dwelt at length on the character of our city both because I would teach the lesson that we have far more at stake than those who are so unlike us, and because I would accompany the words of praise which I now pronounce over these men with manifest proofs. Indeed their highest praise has been already spoken. I have but sung the praises of a city which the virtues of these men and of men like them adorned, and there are few Hellenes like these,

42. The city was worthy of their sacrifice, and they showed themselves worthy of such a city.

whose deeds will be found to balance their praises. I hold that such an end as theirs shows forth a man's real excellence, whether it be a first revelation or a final confirmation. For even those who fall short in other ways may find refuge behind the valor they show in fighting for their country. They make men forget the evil that was in them for the good, and help their country more by their public sacrifice than they injured her by their private failings. Among these men, however, there was no one in wealth who set too high a value on the further enjoyment of it, to his own undoing, nor any one in poverty who was led, by the hope of escaping it and becoming rich, to postpone the dread ordeal. Nay, they deemed the punishment of the enemy more to be desired than all these things, and the fairest of all perils; and so they highly resolved, facing the peril, to punish the foe at the price of their ambitions. They left to hope the uncertainty of success in these, and confidently trusted in their own deeds as they faced the plain duty of the hour. And in the heat of action, thinking it far better to suffer death than to yield and live, they did indeed fly from the word of disgrace, but they stood firm in deeds of prowess, and so, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the height of their glory rather than of their fear, they passed away.

Such were these men, and they were worthy of their city. Those who survive them may pray, perhaps, for a less fatal, but should desire no less bold a temper towards their foes. You cannot weigh in words the service they ren-

43. Their illustrious example should in-

dered to the state. You know it yourselves fully as well as any speaker who might descant at length upon it, telling you all the good there is in resistance to the foe. You should rather fix your eyes daily upon the city in her power, until you become her fond lovers. And when her greatness becomes manifest to you, reflect that it was by courage, and the recognition of duty, and the shunning of dishonor, that men won that greatness, men who, even if they failed in an undertaking, did not on that account deem it a worthy thing to rob their city of a glorious example, but offered their lives willingly as their fairest contribution to the table of her welfare. To the state they gave their lives, but for themselves they won that praise which knows no age, and that sepulchre which is most notable, — I speak not of that in which their bodies lie, but of that in which their fame, the object of commemorative word and deed whenever fit occasion offers, is preserved in everlasting remembrance. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men. Not only in their own country do lettered stones tell where they lie, but in countries not their own as well there abide unwritten memorials of them in every breast, not material, but spiritual. These are the men for you to emulate now. Consider your happiness to be your freedom, and your freedom your high spirit, and do not look askance at the perils of war. It is not the wretched, who have no hope of good, who would with the greater justice be prodigal of their lives; but rather they for whom a total re-

spire their survivors, and their fame invite to emulation of their deeds. The whole earth is the sepulchre of such men.

versal of fortune is among the perils of a longer life, and who would suffer the greatest changes in case of public disaster. More grievous, surely, to a man of spirit, is disaster coupled with cowardice, than the death which comes upon him unawares in the flush of vigor and a common hope.

Wherefore also I do not now commiserate the parents of these dead, you who are here present; I would rather comfort you. Reared as ye have been amid manifold vicissitudes, ye are well aware that it is good fortune when men achieve what is most becoming to them, — death, as these men have, sorrow, as ye have, — and when the measures of their days and of their happiness end together. I know it is hard to persuade you of this, when there will be many reminders of your dead in the good fortune of other parents, in which ye also once took joyful part. Sorrow is felt not so much for the lack of blessings never enjoyed, as for the loss of those to which one has become accustomed. However, those who are still at an age when they may become parents ought to be steadfast in the hope of other children; in your family life, the children who may yet be born will help many of you to forget the loss of those who are no more, while your city will enjoy the double gain of being populous and safe. They surely cannot be fair and just counsellors who do not risk the lives of children in the common dangers of the state. But some of you can no longer become parents; find your gain

44. The parents of the dead are not to be pitied, but comforted with hope of future, or memory of past gladness, and with thoughts of the fair fame of those whom they have lost.

therefore in the longer life of your good fortune, and in the thought that the time of your bereavement will be short. Comfort yourselves also with the fair fame of these sons of yours. For in the love of honor there is no old age, and when men are so old as to be useless, it is not the gaining of wealth, as some say, which gives them the more delight, but the receiving of honor.

For you here present who are the sons or brothers of these men, I see that the struggle to emulate them will be an arduous one. All are wont to praise the dead, and hardly, for all your surpassing virtue, will ye be judged to be even little inferior to them, not to say their equals. The living are envied by their rivals, but the absent one is honored with a good will that knows no competition.

45. Sons and brothers of these dead will find it hard to be worthy of them.

If I am to say anything of the womanly virtues becoming to those of you who are henceforth to be in widowhood, I shall indicate it all in a brief exhortation: not to fall below your birthright is your great glory, and to have as little as possible said about you among men, either in praise or blame.

Their widows must be true women, and avoid both praise and blame.

I have now observed the custom in uttering such fitting words as I could, and by our act of due burial we have begun our more tangible honors to the dead. In continuance of the same the city will maintain their children at the public charge from this time on until they are of age. Such is the serviceable crown which

46. The tribute of words has now been paid; as tribute of deeds the city will honorably

bury these men, and support their children.

she bestows on these men and their children in reward of struggles such as theirs. For where the greatest prizes are offered for virtue, there the noblest men conduct the state.

And now, when ye have duly mourned, each one his own dead, ye may depart.

NOTES ON THE *CIMON*

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I. 1. **Conducted King Opheltas into Bœotia**: a tradition of the noble family of the Opheltiadæ, whose chief seat was in Chæroneia. In the days of Plutarch membership in this family gave distinction "above all the rest of the Bœotians" (*de scra num. vind.* 13 = *Morals*, 558 A). The movement here spoken of was part of the slow appropriation, by the Hellenic folk driven southward from Epirus by the Illyrians, of the "Mycenæan" culture dominant in the countries afterwards known as Thessaly and Bœotia. To the Hellenes, the people of this culture were "barbarians." The time of the Thessalian and Bœotian "migrations" can be only approximately fixed between the twelfth and tenth centuries B.C. Thermopylæ had its traditions of their passage (Herod., vii. 176). See Bury, *History of Greece* (ed. in one vol.), pp. 56 ff. Of the Bœotian migration Thucydides speaks in i. 12, 3.

Contests with the Gauls: in 279–8 B.C. the Gauls, or Celts, who had been successfully turned back from the Italian, invaded and ravaged the Balkan peninsula, but were defeated by the Greeks at Thermopylæ. See Holm, *History of Greece*, iv. pp. 90–93.

I. 2. **In sorry plight**: Bœotia, and especially the neighborhood of Chæroneia, had been ravaged by the war between the Romans and Archelaus, the great general of Mithridates, 88–85 B.C.

I. 3. **Sacrificing in the market-place**: when a Roman army was quartered in a foreign land, altars for local divinities were built in the camp. The centurions acted as priests, and offered for the legionary soldiers. They could also establish cults outside the camp, the divinity being determined by the locality. In Greek lands the gods were honored

under their Roman names. A statue of Dionysus stood in the market-place of Chæroneia (chap. ii. 2).

I. 4. **As the custom is**: "like the family and the phratria, so the city too had a common hearth and a common table. Both were in the prytaneium. There daily dined certain persons selected to represent the city, — magistrates, or distinguished men." Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 198.

I. 5. **On some errand**: perhaps on his way to Asia, in 74 B. C., to take the field against Mithridates.

I. 6. **Gymnasiarch**: superintendent of the physical education and athletic contests of the youth of the city. The varied duties and obligations of this expensive liturgy, or public service, are well illustrated by an inscription from Eretria, published by R. B. Richardson, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, v. pp. 183 ff.

Æolians in speech: *i. e.* Thessalians. It is probable that "all the Æolians, both those who gave their name to the Æolian colonization and those of Ætolia, were inhabitants originally of Thessaly; and that their name (*cf.* the similar fate of *Hellenes*) afterwards disappeared in that country" (Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, p. 44, note). Æolis, as ancient name for Thessaly, is seen in Herod., vii. 176.

II. 1. **Prætor of Macedonia**: Macedonia became a Roman province in 146 B. C., but Greece proper, under the name of Achaia, retained certain special privileges and immunities, although for administrative purposes it was included in the province of Macedonia. It was made an independent province by Augustus.

III. 1. In this case, at any rate, the Roman is selected first, then the Greek is sought who will make a suitable "parallel," and the chapter contains one of the most striking of Plutarch's parallels, although, like all the rest, it is very superficial. In the more formal "Comparison" between Cimon and Lucullus which follows the life of the latter, Plutarch emphasizes rather certain marked contrasts between the men. Cimon's lavish expenditures were for the benefit of

his native city and fellow-citizens; those of Lucullus for his own selfish and sensual gratification. Cimon died gloriously in the active service of his country, retaining to the last the love and obedience of his soldiers; Lucullus died in inglorious ease, after losing all influence over his soldiers. And yet for greatness of achievement the palm is awarded rather to Lucullus. He faced foes that were more numerous, and less shattered by the efforts of his predecessors, and rendered them more incapable of farther harm to his country. See the note on Fabius Maximus, *Pericles*, ii. 4.

IV. 1. **By Hegesipyle**: Herodotus is authority for the marriage of Miltiades with Hegesipyle, daughter of the Thracian King (vi. 39), and also for the fact that Miltiades had a son by an earlier marriage (vi. 41). The elegies of Archelaus and Melanthius, mentioned more particularly in the last paragraphs of this chapter, made it clear that Cimon was a son by the second marriage. For these poets, see Introduction, p. 34.

Thucydides . . . Cimon: just how Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon is uncertain. The grandmother of Thucydides may have been a daughter of the elder Olorus, and she may have married an Athenian, as her sister, Hegesipyle, married Miltiades (Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. p. 46). Or, Thucydides may have been the grandson of Hegesipyle by a second marriage after the death of Miltiades (Macan on Herod., vi. 39), but this is far from probable. It were more reasonable to assume that the grandmother of Thucydides was a daughter of Miltiades and Hegesipyle (Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 286, cited by Meyer).

Gold mines in Thrace: Brasidas heard "that Thucydides had the right of working gold mines in the neighboring district of Thrace, and was consequently one of the leading men of the country" (Thuc., iv. 105, 1).

IV. 2. **Brought to Attica**: Thucydides returned to his native city after twenty years of exile dating from the loss of Amphipolis in 424 (Thuc., v. 26, 5). It is uncertain in what year he died, but it must have been between 400 and

395. Different stories are told about the manner of his death, but the tradition is comparatively early that he was murdered, either at Athens or in Thrace. This tradition was the more readily accepted because it accounted in the simplest manner for the abrupt breaking off of his incomplete history. The fact here recorded by Plutarch, that his tombstone stood among those of Cimon's family, is the only certain thing about the case, resting as it doubtless does on some such good antiquarian authority as Diodorus the Periegete in the learned source which Plutarch is here using (Introd., pp. 42, 44), and subject as it had been to confirmation by the personal observation of Plutarch himself during residence in Athens. See Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. pp. 629 ff., and Frazer on Pausanias, i. 23, 9.

Laciadæ: it is only incidentally that we learn the deme of Cimon in this way. Deme and tribe are usually given with parentage (Introd., p. 46). This deme belonged to the Œneïd tribe (xvii. 3). See the note on *Pericles*, iii. 1.

IV. 3. **Died in prison**: the imprisonment of Miltiades, his death in prison, Cimon's imprisonment for the debt of his father, and his ransom from prison by Callias on the surrender to him of Elpinice in marriage (Nepos, *Cimon*, 1) are all inventions of later tradition for rhetorical effect, and traceable, in varying completeness, to Ephorus and Theopompus (Introd., pp. 39–42). Invention went to the absurd length of obliging Cimon to surrender himself for imprisonment in order to obtain his father's body for burial (Diodorus, x. frag. 29). A variant of the invention of his ransom from prison by Callias is a wealthy marriage for himself instead of Elpinice, and this is brought into connection with the memorable saying of Themistocles (Plutarch, *Themist.*, xviii. 4) that he preferred for his daughter a man without money rather than money without a man (Diodorus, x. frag. 31, an excerpt from Ephorus). All this invention is mere play of historic imagination about a simple statement of Herodotus, who merely says (vi. 136) that after Miltiades had been condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, his wound mortified,

and he died, and his son Cimon paid the fine. See Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. pp. 91 f.; Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 26 ff.

His grandfather Cimon: a wealthy noble of Athens who was banished by Peisistratus. During his exile he won two chariot races at Olympia, for the first of which he caused the public honor to be given to his brother, since a banished man could not receive it, and for the second to Peisistratus himself, thereby securing a recall from exile. He won a third victory at Olympia with the same mares. He was put to death by order of the sons of Peisistratus, and the mares which had won him three Olympic victories were buried near him in the family precinct (Herod., vi. 103).

Aristophanes uses "Coalemus" as a name for the genius of stupidity (*Knights*, 221), and Aristotle seems to imply that the younger Cimon was sluggish and slow of development (*Const. of Athens*, xxvi. 1, reading *νωθρότερον* for the impossible *νεώτερον*). A story is reported by Aristides, the celebrated rhetorician of the second century (Introd., p. 44), that the guardians of Cimon would not allow him to take charge of his own property until some time after he had come of age (ii. p. 203, Dind.).

IV. 4. **Stesimbrotus the Thasian**: see Introd., p. 36.

Euripides .. of Heracles: a fragment of the lost *Licymnius* (Nauck, *Trag. Græc. Frag.*, 473). Licymnius was a friend of Heracles, and slain by a son of Heracles. Herein lay the tragic element of the play. The citation is applied to the Roman people by Plutarch in his *Marcellus*, xxi.

IV. 5. **Elpinice**: a beautiful and talented woman, who played an important part in the political struggles of her time, espousing ardently the cause of her brother. Hence the poets of the Old Comedy and the low gossip of the market-place made scandal out of her relations with her brother and other leading men. Stesimbrotus collected and transmitted these scandals (Introd., p. 36). In an oration "Against Alcibiades" which has come down to us among the orations of Andocides (iv. 33), but which doubtless dates

from about the middle of the fourth century (Ivo Bruns, *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen*, pp. 517 f.), the Athenians are said to have ostracized Cimon because of his improper relations with his sister (*cf.* Plutarch, *Cimon*, xv. 3). The foundation for the story of her improper relations with Polygnotus may well have been the fact that he introduced her portrait into his wall-painting of the Fall of Troy in the Painted Colonnade, out of compliment to Cimon. Twenty years later Pheidias introduced portraits of himself and Pericles among the Greek heroes fighting Amazons on the shield of the Athena Parthenos. See the *Pericles*, xxxi. 4, and notes.

Painted Colonnade: the principal stoa, or pillared portico of Athens, which probably stood on the southern half of the east side of the market-place. It was called the *Stoa Poikile* after its paintings had become famous. Pausanias describes these in i. 15, to which see Frazer's notes. "In the Painted Colonnade Zeno discussed philosophy with his disciples, who hence acquired the name of Stoics, *i. e.* 'men of the colonnade' (from *stoa*, 'colonnade')." The Peisianax from whom the stoa was first named was related to Cimon, — perhaps his brother-in-law, *i. e.* the brother of Isodice. This earlier name for the Painted Colonnade is noted besides only in the biography of Zeno, Diog. Laert., vii. 1, 6.

The Trojan women: a group of captives in the scene which Pausanias thus describes: "Next is a picture of the Greeks after their conquest of Ilium; the kings are gathered together to consult on the outrage offered by Ajax to Cassandra; Ajax himself appears in the picture, also Cassandra and other captive women." Among these last must have been represented Laodice, a daughter of Priam, who fell in love with Acamas, the son of Theseus, when he was on an embassy to Troy, became his wife, and bore him a son. She was also portrayed by Polygnotus in his famous wall-painting of the Sack of Troy at Delphi (Paus., x. 26, 7). It is probable that his painting in the stoa at Athens also represented the Sack of Troy, one particular scene in which arrests the attention of Pausanias.

IV. 6. **Polygnotus**: a native of Thasos, and probably invited to Athens by Cimon after the subjugation of the island in 463 (xiv. 2). Citizenship was conferred upon him at Athens.

The historians: probably writers describing the monuments of Athens, like Philochorus or Diodorus the Topographer (Introd., pp. 39, 42). From such literature perhaps came the item about Elpinice's portrait, but since the pictures of the Painted Colonnade survived till the middle of the fourth century A. D., Plutarch must have seen them himself.

Cecropia: from the mythical King Cecrops, who gave his name also to Acropolis and people. This citation is probably from one of the elegies referred to in §§ 1 and 9.

IV. 7. **There are some who say, etc.**: this apologetic version of the relations between Elpinice and Cimon is probably from Theopompus (Introd., p. 41), whom Nepos closely followed in his biography of Cimon (chap. 1). It is no less an invention, though a kindly one, than the detestable slander which it was meant to replace, a slander which Plutarch seems to believe (*de sera num. vind.* 6 = *Morals*, 552 B). It was characteristic of this apologetic version to make Elpinice only half-sister of Cimon, *i. e.* a daughter of Miltiades by his first wife, and not by Hegesipyle.

IV. 9. **Too passionately attached, etc.**: a naïve argument, surely, and one for which Plutarch alone is responsible. Cimon was uxorious to a degree, and therefore it is likely that he was given to the loves of women!

Granddaughter of Megacles: first cousin, therefore, of Agariste, the mother of Pericles. This alliance with the great family of the Alcmæonidæ was doubtless made at the time of the coalition against Themistocles which achieved his ostracism. See Introd., p. 19.

Panætius: see Introd., p. 44.

V. 1. **Even when young and untried**: the derogatory estimate of Cimon which Aristotle adopts, already alluded to in the note on iv. 3, makes him out an incompetent general, put in command only because of his father's great repu-

tation, and wasteful of the lives of his soldiers. Plutarch evidently thinks that Cimon did not long remain a "booby."

V. 2. This charming anecdote, the authenticity of which is generally granted, cannot be traced with certainty to any particular source, though it has the flavor of Ion of Chios, who is cited by name in the next paragraph. See Introd., p. 36.

Cerameicus: the inner Cerameicus, a quarter of the city extending from the Dipylum, or N. W. gate, to the western ascent of the Acropolis, and including the market-place. See Frazer on Pausanias, i. 3, 1.

V. 3. **Of no mean presence**: Mr. A. J. Evans, *Revue Archéologique*, xxxii. (1898), pp. 352 f., argues that a portrait head (Plate viii. 2), finely engraved on a gem by Dexamenos of Chios, represents Cimon. See Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 342.

V. 4. **Full to surfeit of Themistocles**: "And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the assembly, till he became tiresome thereby" (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, xxii. 1).

Aristides . . furthered his career: The Spartans, too, favored this coalition, to which at last Themistocles succumbed. See chap. xvi. 2, and *cf. Themistocles*, xx. 2, *fin.*

VI. 1. **Cimon was sent out**: in 478–7 B. C., a fleet of the confederate Greeks, under the command of Pausanias, subdued the greater part of Cyprus, and then besieged and captured Byzantium. The Peloponnesians furnished twenty ships of war, the Athenians thirty, and the other allies a large number (Thuc., i. 94). Aristides probably commanded the Athenian contingent, and Cimon was probably one of his colleagues in command, though these details rest only on the (ultimate) authority of Ephorus and Theopompus, whose testimony was reproduced and enlarged by Idomeneus (Introd., pp. 39, 58). They are, however, matters of reasonable inference. See Plutarch, *Aristides*, xxiii. 4, and note; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 32, note; p. 67, note.

VI. 2. **Secured the leadership of Hellas**: the story of the transfer of the leadership from Sparta to Athens is given by Thucydides in i. 95 (and 130). Plutarch's versions, here and in the *Aristides*, xxiii., do not materially change the essential facts, but add various details of more or less credibility. When Plutarch's subject is Aristides, that hero is given the leading part in the transfer; when it is Cimon, Cimon.

VI. 4–6. **Cleonice**: the story of Cleonice is told by Plutarch also in his *de sera num. vind.* 10 = *Morals*, 555 C; by Pausanias the Periegete (iii. 17, 7–9), who heard it "from a man of Byzantium"; and in the late compilation passing under the name of Aristodemus, chap. viii. (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, v. p. 10). It may have originally stood in the *Annals of Heracleia* (the seat of the ghost-oracle of § 6) by Nymphis, a historian of the third century B. C., from whom Athenæus (xii. 536 A) culls a story of the insolence of Pausanias. Plutarch cites Nymphis in his *de virtute mulierum* = *Morals*, 248 D. The hexameter verse which the phantom recites is of unknown origin.

Driven from Byzantium: probably in 471, "when he had been forced out of Byzantium and the gates had been shut against him by the Athenians" (Thuc., i. 131, 1).

VII. 1–3. **Eïon**: Cimon's siege and capture of Eïon, in 476–5 B. C., is very concisely told by Thucydides (i. 98, 1), and by Herodotus (vii. 107) with ample detail. Slight additions to this material in Plutarch are thought to be derived, ultimately at least, from Ephorus (*cf.* Diodorus, xi. 60), though they are hardly more than natural accretions to the original story. Eïon was at the mouth of the Strymon, and served as harbor for the later Amphipolis, which was between three and four miles up stream (see on viii. 2).

Dedicate the stone Hermæ: square pillars surmounted by an archaic bust of the god Hermes stood "everywhere at the doorways both of temples and private houses" in Athens, according to Thucydides (vi. 27, 1). There was a famous row of *Hermæ* which extended in the market-place from the

Painted Colonnade to the Royal Colonnade. But this dedication was made in the Colonnade of the *Hermæ*, the exact site of which is unknown. These *Hermæ* inscriptions are cited and commented on by Æschines in his speech *Against Ctesiphon*, 183 f.: "There were, Men of Athens, in those good old times, certain men who underwent great toil and peril on the river Strymon, and conquered the Medes in battle. When they got home, they asked the people for a reward, and the people gave them the great honor, as was then thought, of erecting three stone *Hermæ* in the Stoa of the *Hermæ*, on condition that their own names be not recorded there, that the inscription might be seen to be made by the people and not by the generals." It was, then, Cimon and his two colleagues in the generalship who were permitted to erect these *Hermæ*, and not Cimon alone, as Plutarch represents it. Plutarch undoubtedly took this material from Æschines (see Introd., p. 38), though his version of the second and third inscriptions shows slight variations in phraseology. He would naturally come upon them in making his studies for the life of Demosthenes, which followed soon, possibly immediately after the *Cimon*.

VII. 5. **Once Homer asserted**: *Iliad*, ii. 552 ff.:

> "Mighty Menestheus, Peteus' son, had their divided care;
> For horsemen and for targeteers none could with him compare,
> Nor put them into better place, to hurt or to defend;
> But Nestor (for he elder was) with him did sole contend."
>
> (Chapman.)

VIII. 1. Plutarch draws the same lessons as Æschines (see the extract in note on vii. 1–3 above) from the absence of any general's name in the inscriptions. It was the people's victory. Æschines also goes on to compare the case of Miltiades, whose name was not mentioned in the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Painted Colonnade.

Sophanes the Deceleian: the name is an evident correction of the Sochares of the MSS. He had made himself famous in the wars with Ægina and Persia (Herod., vi. 92;

ix. 73–75). The origin of this anecdote is not known. It has the appearance of late manufacture.

VIII. 2. **Amphipolis**: a first attempt in 475, and a second in 465, to settle Athenian colonists at *Ennea Hodoi*, the site of the later Amphipolis, a strategic point three or four miles above Eïon on the Strymon, were disastrous. A third attempt, in 436, was successful, and the name Amphipolis was given to the site. But Eïon, at the mouth of the river, must have served as a base of operations in all three attempts (Thuc., iv. 102; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 102 f.).

VIII. 3. **For the following reason**: "First of all, under the leadership of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the Athenians besieged and took from the Persians Eïon upon the Strymon, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. The same fate then befell Scyros, an island in the Ægean inhabited by Dolopes; this they colonized themselves." Such is the brief account of Thucydides (i. 98). No motive is therein given for Cimon's intervention in the affairs of Scyros. That which Plutarch here gives is thought to come from Theopompus (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 106, note), who wished to represent the Athenians as acting in collusion with sea-robbers. It reads like a "stratagem" invented for the occasion, like the device by which Cimon captured Eïon mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 8, 9). According to Pausanias (i. 17 *fin.*), it was in retaliation for the murder of Theseus that Cimon attacked Scyros, whence he brought back the hero's bones to Athens. According to the same author (iii. 3, 7), an oracle led to the discovery of the bones of Theseus by Cimon, "and not long afterwards he conquered Scyros." It is clear that everything beyond the brief and simple statement of Thucydides is uncertain tradition.

VIII. 4. **The Amphictyonic assembly**: of the Delphic sacred league. This included twelve tribes, *viz.* the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Magnesians, Achæans (of Phthia), Dolopians, Malians, Ænianians, Locrians, Phocians, Bœotians, Dorians (both of Doris and Peloponnesus), and Ionians (the Athenians and Eubœans). The convention, or assembly, was

composed of delegates and representatives from each of these tribes, and "met half-yearly, alternately at Delphi and Thermopylæ; originally and chiefly for common religious purposes, but indirectly and occasionally embracing political and social objects along with them." It was at such an assembly that Themistocles thwarted the designs of Sparta in 476, and won her undying hatred (Plutarch, *Themist.*, xx. 2).

VIII. 6. With this story of the restoration of the bones of Theseus to Athens, the later and much more circumstantial version in the *Theseus*, chaps. xxxv. and xxxvi., is to be compared, where Philochorus and Diodorus the Periegete are cited as sources (Introd., pp. 39, 42). There it is stated that the oracle was given the Athenians in the archonship of Phædo (476–5), and the seizure of the island and the restoration of the bones of Theseus are to be thought of as following within one or two years.

VIII. 7. **That decision of his in the tragic contests:** grave doubts attach to this delightful story. It cannot be assigned with any certainty to so good a source as Ion. There is no connection whatever between the dramatic contest described and the recovery of the bones of Theseus. The libation of Cimon and his generals was "customary." Apsephion was Archon in 469–8, and to this archonship the first dramatic victory of Sophocles is assigned by the Parian Marble. But we cannot be sure that Æschylus was defeated by him in that year (see Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 128). The probabilities are that Æschylus was at the court of Hiero of Syracuse from 471 to 467, whither his great fame took him, with other distinguished poets, and not disappointment and anger at defeat by a younger rival. At any rate, the evidence is clear that Æschylus was victorious at Athens in 467, with the group of plays of which the extant *Seven against Thebes* was one, and again in 458 with his Oresteian trilogy, and that he died at Gela in Sicily in 456–5. For this last visit to Sicily also many reasons were given, among them mortification over a defeat, but they are all manifest inventions.

The regular procedure in the tragic contests was as follows. Three poets were first selected to compete, each with four plays, by the Archon in charge of the particular festival. For the judges, a certain number of names were selected (by the Council, assisted by the choregi) from each of the ten tribes of Attica, the names were inscribed upon tablets, and the tablets placed in ten urns, each urn containing the names belonging to a single tribe. Until the time of the festival this preliminary list remained sealed up in the urns, which were deposited in the Acropolis. On the first day of the competitions the ten urns were produced in the theatre, and at the commencement of the contest the Archon drew a single name from each of the urns in succession. The ten persons whose names were drawn constituted a second list of judges, and each of them represented one of the ten tribes. After being thus selected by lot, they came forward and took a solemn oath that they would give an impartial verdict. At the end of the contest each of them gave his vote, writing upon a tablet the names of the three competitors in order of merit. These tablets, ten in number, were then placed in an urn, and the Archon drew forth five of them at random. The majority of these five votes decided the competition (Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, pp. 44 ff.).

IX. 1. **Ion says**: see Introd., p. 36. This saying of Themistocles is utilized in the biography of that hero (ii. 3), which was probably composed immediately before that of Cimon. The testimony here given as to the culture of Cimon is not necessarily in conflict with that of Stesimbrotus cited in iv. 4. Themistocles set no high standard in polite accomplishments.

IX. 2. **At Sestos and Byzantium**: no strict chronological inference is to be drawn from this loose use of the two names together in a report of an after-dinner story made many years afterward. The incident is probably to be connected only with the capture of Byzantium in 478–7 (see the note on vi. 1, above). Sestos is Ion's careless addition. See Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 64 f.

X. 1. **Since he was already wealthy**: the fine of fifty talents which Cimon paid for his father could not have impaired for long his princely fortune.

X. 1–8. The remarkable description of Cimon's generosity in §§ 1–3 is almost identical with a citation by Athenæus (xii. p. 533) from Theopompus. It probably came to Plutarch indirectly, by way of some learned commentator or biographer, who noted the divergence of Aristotle (§ 2) on a certain point, and added the citations from Cratinus, Gorgias, and Critias (§§ 3–5). The material from Theopompus is much more sparingly used again by Plutarch in his *Pericles* (chap. ix.). The last chapter of the *Cimon* of Nepos is also clearly an abridgment of the same material. All that follows the citation from Critias in Plutarch (§§ 5–8), down to the anecdote that closes the chapter, is clearly his own "improvement of the occasion."

Aristotle, whose unfavorable opinion of Cimon is noted above on iv. 3 and v. 1, says (*Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 3) that Cimon not only performed the public liturgies in splendid fashion, but also supported many of his fellow-demesmen. "For any one of the Laciadæ who wished could go to his house daily and get moderate provision; and besides that, his estates were all unfenced, that whosoever wished might enjoy the fruits thereof." The correction of Theopompus by Aristotle is therefore only a slight one. According to Aristotle, it was to rival successfully this generosity of Cimon's that Pericles introduced his elaborate system of pay for public service! See the citation in the note on *Pericles*, ix. 2.

X. 3. **Cratinus**: a poet of the Old Comedy. It is not known what was the subject of this play. See Introd., pp. 35, 53.

X. 5. **Gorgias**: the famous Sicilian rhetorician and orator, who came on an embassy to Athens in 427, and took the city captive by his oratory. See Introd., p. 37.

Critias: the follower of Socrates who, with Alcibiades, brought odium upon the master, and gave color to the charge against him of corrupting the youth. See Introd., p. 37.

The Scopadæ: a powerful family of Thessalian nobles whose seat was at Crannon.

Arcesilaus: Pausanias saw his statue at Olympia among those of other Spartan horse-breeders. He won two Olympic victories (Paus., vi. 2, 1 f.).

Lichas: son of the Arcesilaus just mentioned. The transition is therefore a natural one on Plutarch's part. His peculiar hospitality must have been known to Plutarch from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, i. 2, 61. But he was also famous for his spectacular violation of the rules at Olympia, after winning a chariot-race there, as recorded in Thuc., v. 50, 4; Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 2, 21; Paus., vi. 2, 2 f. The account in Thucydides is most graphic.

X. 6. **Restored the . . . age of Cronus**: Plutarch is fond of this hyperbole, and repeats it, if anything less appropriately, in his *Aristides*, xxiv. 2.

X. 7. **Ephialtes**: leader of the advanced democracy after the ostracism of Themistocles (about 472), until his assassination in 461, when Pericles succeeded him. Later tradition, as in the case of Aristides, tended to exaggerate and idealize his poverty. See on *Pericles*, vii. 6.

X. 8. **It is told, etc.**: the source of this anecdote is not known.

XI. 1–3. This chapter is a free and inexact "improvement," by Plutarch himself or his source, of Thuc., i. 99 (cited, Introd., pp. 17 f.). Most of the variations from Thucydides are due to the effort to glorify Cimon by attributing to him what was really collective action by the state. Strictly speaking, the subject allies were bound to furnish men for military service even though they paid tribute (Thuc., ii. 9, *fin.*). Ships, however, were furnished only by the independent allies, unless they elected to pay money instead. No ally furnished both money and ships.

XII. 2. **Pamphylia**: of Cimon's double victory at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia in the autumn of 467 B. C., Thucydides gives the following tantalizingly meagre account (i. 100): "A little later [*sc.* than the reduction of the Nax-

ians] the Athenians and their allies fought two battles, one by land and the other by sea, against the Persians, at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. The Athenians, under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, on the same day conquered in both, and took and destroyed Phœnician vessels numbering in all two hundred."

The explicit, consistent, and trustworthy details of the great struggle which Plutarch gives (xii. 2—xiii. 4), come, directly or indirectly, from Callisthenes (§ 4). The account which Ephorus gave (Diod., xi. 60, 4—62), is a ridiculous perversion of the facts, due to his erroneous reference of a votive inscription at Athens to the victories of Cimon at the Eurymedon in 467, instead of to those at Cyprus in 449 (Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 7–19). Nepos (*Cimon*, 2, 2) puts the double victory at Mycale!

Chelidonian isles: in the gulf of Pamphylia.

Cnidus, Triopium: city and promontory, respectively, on the southern peninsula of Caria.

XII. 3. **Phaselis**: an independent city-state of Lycia, on the Pamphylian Gulf. The incidents here recorded have an anecdotical character, and probably came originally from Ion of Chios, Cimon's ardent admirer (Introd., p. 36). That Phaselis, shortly after the victories of the Eurymedon, stood in the same specially favorable relations to Athens as Chios, is attested by an inscription (CIA, ii. 11; Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 72) now referred to the middle of the fifth century by Wilhelm (Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 5).

XII. 4. **Ephorus says**: having put the sea fight at Cyprus, and the land fight only at the Eurymedon, Ephorus was obliged to have two commanders.

Callisthenes: the historian of Alexander's career (Introd., p. 41).

XII. 5. **Phanodemus**: author of an *Atthis*, or *Annals* of Athens, of uncertain date (Introd., p. 39).

XII. 6. **No one knows how many**: doubtless an inference of Plutarch, and amiably false. The nature of the engagement was such (the enemy being entrapped in the river)

that no escape was possible. Thucydides says (as cited in the note on § 2) that two hundred vessels were taken and destroyed, — probably the entire fleet.

XIII. 3. **Hyblus**: the name is uncertain. Some place on the coast east of the Eurymedon is doubtless meant. Syedra, a place on the border between Pamphylia and Cilicia, is the most probable correction (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 150, note).

XIII. 4. **Cyanean isles**: two islets at the entrance from the Euxine Sea into the Thracian Bosporos, — the *Symplegades*, or clashing isles of mythology. The Ægean Sea was to be free from the King's ships of war.

XIII. 5. **Callisthenes denies . . . but says, etc.**: here either Plutarch or his source has misunderstood Callisthenes. What that historian said was (probably) that the Hellenic victories at the Eurymedon so humbled the King that out of fear simply (see xii. 2), and not in consequence of any formal treaty, he kept his forces so far to the east that Pericles and Ephialtes could sail beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering them. This *status quo* was more or less formally recognized, some twenty years later, after Cimon's last victories at Cyprus, by an agreement between Athens and Persia called the "Peace of Callias" (449–447), the terms of which were afterwards greatly exaggerated by patriotic orators (*cf.* Demosthenes, *de falsa leg.*, § 273 f.). This peace Callisthenes did not impugn, but Plutarch (or his source) supposed him to do so in denying that it followed the victories at the Eurymedon, and proceeded to prove a "Peace of Cimon" in 467 with arguments appropriate for the "Peace of Callias" in 449–447. It is a gross misunderstanding. For the latest discussions of this vexed question, see Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 1–25 and 75–82; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 345–358; Abbott, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 362–367.

XIII. 6. **A copy of the treaty**: this treaty found in the collection of Craterus (Introd., p. 42) was a record of the agreement made by Callias in 449–447. It was not a formal treaty, ratified by oaths, but a mutual understanding that

the Athenians would cease from offensive operations against Persia as long as the King kept his fleets and armies within certain specified limits. Theopompus, on insufficient grounds, pronounced it a forgery. See Frazer on Pausanias, i. 8, 2.

To commemorate this event: this doubtful statement about the institution of the altar of Peace at Athens is probably derived ultimately from some such antiquarian writer as Phanodemus, who is cited in xii. 5, or Diodorus the Periegete, who is cited in xvi. 1. It is possible that there is reference to this altar in Aristophanes, *Peace*, vv. 1019 f.: "Peace, I ween, taketh no pleasure in sacrifices, nor is her altar stained with blood."

Honors to Callias: Pausanias (i. 8, 2) mentions a bronze statue of Callias in a very honorable place at Athens, near those of the eponymous heroes in the agora, — "of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians relate, negotiated the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes."

The southern wall of the Acropolis: this retaining wall, which made possible a spacious plateau on the irregularly sloping surface of the Acropolis, is usually ascribed to Cimon. See Pausanias, i. 28, 3, and Frazer's notes.

XIII. 7. **The long walls**: the wall to the old harbor of Phalerum, and that to the Piræus. See the note on *Pericles*, xiii. 5. These items, too, like that about the altar of Peace above, are probably from some antiquarian writer, though introduced as stock items, — "they say," "it is said."

XIII. 8. **The Academy**: a "wooded suburb" three quarters of a mile northwest of Athens, where there was a gymnasium, and where, later, Plato taught. See Frazer on Pausanias, i. 30, 1.

XIV. 1. Thucydides (i. 100) passes directly from his brief notice of the victories at the Eurymedon (cited in the note on xii. 2) to the revolt of Thasos, and Plutarch is now our only authority for this conquest of the Thracian Chersonese by Cimon. But the details which he gives have an air of verisimilitude, and an inscription (CIA, i. 432; *cf.* Koehler, *Hermes*, xxiv. p. 85) shows that Athenian soldiers were lost in the

Chersonese during the same civil year (July to July) as on Thasos. The expedition to the Chersonese is best assigned to the latter part of 466; the revolt and invasion of Thasos to the first part of 465 (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 200, note). The *Atthis* of Hellanicus (Introd., p. 2) may have preserved this material for Plutarch's source.

XIV. 2. According to Thucydides (i. 100, 101), the Thasians revolted because "a quarrel had arisen between them and the Athenians about the Thracian market and the mines on the Thracian coast opposite, of which the Thasians received the profits. The Athenians sailed to Thasos and, gaining a victory at sea, landed upon the island." The siege of Thasos lasted over two years, during the first of which ten thousand colonists, sent by Athens and her allies to occupy the site of the later Amphipolis (see note on viii. 2), were annihilated by the Thracians; and during the second of which a great earthquake and a Messenian war alone prevented the Spartans from responding to the appeals of Thasos for their aid. "While the Lacedæmonians were thus engaged, the Thasians, who had now been blockaded for more than two years, came to terms with the Athenians; they pulled down their walls and surrendered their ships; they also agreed to pay what was required of them whether in the shape of immediate indemnity or of tribute for the future; and they gave up their claim to the mainland and the mine."

In Thucydides, it is "the Athenians" who conduct the whole campaign against Thasos, and no mention is made of Cimon. It is the natural tendency of biography to concentrate collective actions upon some one prominent man, as is well seen in Plutarch's story of Aristides at Platæa. But there can be no doubt that Cimon was in command when the naval victory over the Thasians was won.

Was actually prosecuted: *i. e.* the popular party, headed by Ephialtes and Pericles, had him prosecuted for bribery at the end of a year's command (probably in 463), when his accounts were submitted to the board of examiners. It was more or less a parliamentary manœuvre, like a motion to de-

clare "lack of confidence" in a ministry. See Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, pp. 466 f., 468 f. Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 1) says that Pericles won his first distinction in politics by this prosecution of Cimon. We have no further authority for this trial, but its occurrence is amply corroborated by the contemporary witness of Stesimbrotus (§ 4). Aristophanes, in his *Wasps* (760–1008), gives a comic picture of such a prosecution of a general, in this case that of Laches, in 425.

XIV. 3. **He said, etc.**: this is rhetoric invented for the occasion by Theopompus or some later rhetorical narrator of the events of the trial, according to Eduard Meyer. Others think it genuine, and reported by Ion of Chios.

Proxenus: an Athenian citizen who represented a foreign state and cared for the interests of her citizens at Athens.

XIV. 4. This story of Stesimbrotus (Introd., p. 36) had originally the basest implication: Elpinice tried to buy her brother off with her own personal charms, only to find them scorned. Both here and in the *Pericles* (x. 5), Plutarch softens and obscures the malignity of the aspersion.

XV. 1. **Sailed away again on military service**: the words probably refer to the expedition to Messenia, early in 462, to assist the Spartans, as described in xvi. 8. This was not, however, in all probability, a naval expedition. But it was a natural error to use a nautical phrase for the movements of such a nautical hero as Cimon. The matter has been much discussed (see Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 261 f.; Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 50–55).

XV. 2. **Robbed the Council of the Areiopagus**: a reform which was carried to completion by Pericles (see the notes on *Pericles*, ix. 2–4). Throughout this passage Plutarch sounds the same oligarchical note which appears in the *Pericles*, vii. 6, where phraseology of Plato is dominant.

Pericles . . . espousing the cause of the populace: *cf.* *Pericles*, vii. 2–6.

When Cimon came back home: from Messenia, in the autumn of 462, as described in xvii. 2.

The aristocracy of . . . Cleisthenes: really, of course, a democracy, but so conservative, in comparison with that of Pericles, as to seem an aristocracy.

XV. 3. **The old slanders against his sister**: see iv. 5 and note.

Eupolis: a poet of the Old Comedy, whom Horace (*Sat.*, i. 4, 1) names with Cratinus and Aristophanes (Introd., p. 35). Both Aristophanes and Eupolis, who were of about the same age, imitated and borrowed from each other, and attacked each other therefor. The *Cities* of Eupolis, from which the verses here cited come (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 315), was brought out some twenty years after Cimon's death, *i. e.* about 422. It shows how the basest slander persists. Cimon's "sleeping in Lacedæmon" probably alludes to his expedition to Messenia (chap. xvii.).

XV. 4. This naïve comment of Plutarch's reminds one of Lincoln's "retort to the zealous persons who demanded Grant's removal because he drank too much whiskey: 'If I knew what brand of whiskey he drinks, I would send a barrel or so to some other generals'" (Rhodes, *Hist. of the United States*, iv. p. 302).

XVI. 1. **As Stesimbrotus relates**: the scholia to Aristides (see Introd., p. 44) mention three other sons of Cimon,—Peisianax (see note on "Painted Colonnade," iv. 5), Miltiades, and Cimon, of whom nothing more is heard. They were his sons by Isodice (*cf.* iv. 9). As regards the mother of the twins mentioned here, the testimony of Stesimbrotus (Introd., p. 36) is to be accepted rather than that of Diodorus the Periegete (Introd., p. 42). It is probable that Thessalus also was a son of the "woman of Cleitor," which was a prominent city of Arcadia. See Meyer, *Forsch.*, ii. pp. 48–50. For the reputed conduct of Pericles towards the sons of Cimon, *cf.* *Pericles*, xxix. 3.

XVI. 2. **Lacedæmonians . . . Themistocles . . . Cimon**: see the notes on v. 4.

XVI. 4. **The fourth year of his reign**: 462 B.C. This was the second Spartan king of the name. He lived till 427.

Taÿgetus: the lofty and magnificent range of mountains three or four miles west of Sparta. It "rises abruptly with steep rocky sides to the height of nearly 8000 feet." The details of this paragraph may well be based on authentic local tradition. They recur in Polyænus, *Strategemata*, i. 41, 3, and Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, vi. 7.

XVI. 5. **It is said, etc.**: the source of this story cannot be made out. It sounds like a late local antiquarian tradition to explain the name of the tomb or mound,—an ætiological story.

XVI. 6. **The surviving Spartans**: Diodorus (xi. 63 f.) preserves for us (from Ephorus) a highly sensational account of this earthquake and the peril of Sparta which followed it, which has evidently had large influence on Plutarch's story. According to Ephorus, more than twenty thousand Lacedæmonians perished, so that the revolting Helots threatened only a surviving remnant. This is doubtless gross exaggeration. Thucydides says (i. 101) that the Lacedæmonians were on the point of setting out to aid the revolting Thasians (see note on xiv. 2), "when the great earthquake occurred and was immediately followed by the revolt of the Helots and the Periœci of Thuria and Æthræa, who seized Ithome. These Helots were mostly the descendants of the Messenians who had been enslaved in ancient times, and hence all the insurgents were called Messenians."

XVI. 7. **Withdrew to their cities**: the looseness and inaccuracy of Plutarch's account here, pave the way for the more egregious error to be found in xvii. 2 below.

Periœci: the name for those original inhabitants of the country conquered by the invading Dorians who kept possession of their lands, and enjoyed personal liberty, but not citizenship. "Their name (lit. *dwelling round*) indicates that they lived on the plain in the neighborhood of the chief city which was occupied by the *Spartiatæ*."

Aristophanes . . . a comedy: the *Lysistrata* (brought out in 411), vv. 1137–1144: "Next, O Laconians,—for I will deal with you now, know ye not how once upon a time Peri-

cleidas the Laconian came hither as a suppliant of Athens, and took his seat at the altars, ochre-pale, in purple cloak, soliciting an army? Messene was then crowding you hard, at a time when the god was shaking you too. So Cimon went with four thousand hoplites and saved the whole of Lacedæmon."

XVI. 8. **As Critias says**: this is the same Critias from whose elegy a citation is made in x. 5. The present reference is probably to a work on Greek polities. See Introd., p. 37.

Ion mentions the phrase, etc.: a citation from Ion's *Epidemiai*, or "Sojourns" (Introd., p. 36).

XVII. 1. This incident is known to us only through Plutarch, who probably got it (ultimately at least) from Ion, from whom he cites by name at the close of the previous chapter.

XVII. 2. **Once more, etc.**: having told of a famous speech of Cimon's as he was returning from his expedition to Messene, a speech which, like the more famous one cited at the close of the last chapter, may have belonged to a collection of such in Ion, Plutarch now wishes to go on with his narrative of the "Messenian" insurrection, which has been interrupted by various citations. But he so far loses the thread of his story (in xvi. 8) as to speak of a *second* expedition of the Athenians in aid of the Lacedæmonians. The vagueness of his language in xvi. 7 ("they withdrew to their cities and waged open war") favors his blunder. There was but one expedition. Thucydides is clear and explicit (i. 101, 2, cited in the note on xvi. 6). It was Ithome, in Messenia, to which the revolting Helots and Periœci "withdrew." "The siege of Ithome proved tedious, and the Lacedæmonians called in, among other allies, the Athenians, who sent to their aid a considerable force under Cimon" (i. 102, 1). Then follows immediately the story of the Spartan dismissal of the Athenians, who returned home in anger, "and forthwith abandoned the alliance which they had made with the Spartans against the Persians, and went over to their Argive enemies."

A trifling pretext: it was nothing of the kind. Plutarch, as always, misunderstands the institution of the ostracism (see the note on *Themistocles*, xxii. 2). Cimon headed the conservative party, which stood for friendly concert with Sparta against Persia. During Cimon's absence in Messenia, however, the radical party under Ephialtes and Pericles got the upper hand, as Plutarch relates in xv. 1–3, and on his return from Spartan insult, the radical party's policy of hostility to Sparta triumphed, and the champion of the opposite policy was sent into retirement. It was a "change of ministry." Shortly afterwards Ephialtes was treacherously murdered, and the leadership of the radical party devolved upon Pericles (see the *Pericles*, x. 7 and note).

XVII. 3. **During this period**: in 457, five years after the ostracism of Cimon. The events of these five years are briefly chronicled by Thucydides in i. 103–106. He then gives with rather unusual detail the incidents of the Tanagra campaign in chapters 107—108, 1–2. He does not mention the ostracism of Cimon, nor his recall.

Freeing the Delphians: rather one of the group of Dorian towns in Central Greece which the Lacedæmonians regarded as their metropolis (Thuc., i. 107, 2). Plutarch is clearly thinking of the "Sacred War," described in *Pericles*, xxi. 2. The present expedition was a mere pretext for bringing a powerful Peloponnesian army (11,500 hoplites, according to Thucydides) within striking distance of Athens on the Bœotian frontier.

The Athenians confronted them: with their whole force, in all 14,000 men, besides some Thessalian cavalry (Thuc., i. 107, 5–7).

XVII. 4–6. Thucydides gives us none of these details of the behavior of Cimon and his friends at Tanagra, but they have the air of authenticity, and probably came to Plutarch ultimately from Stesimbrotus or Ion, who are contemporary witnesses. The same story is told, with interesting but natural and explicable variations, in Plutarch's *Pericles*, x. Thucydides does mention one circumstance which explains

the attitude of the Council (or Pericles) toward Cimon's offer to fight against Sparta, even though Cimon himself be held entirely guiltless of any sympathy with the traitors. "Certain Athenians were privately making overtures to them [the Lacedæmonians in Bœotia], in the hope that they would put an end to the democracy and the building of the long walls" (i. 107, 4). These traitors were of Cimon's party.

According to Theopompus (Frag. 92, Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, i. p. 293), whom Nepos follows (*Cimon*, iii. 3), Cimon was recalled before five years of his exile had elapsed. This would be soon after the battle of Tanagra, which was fought in the first half of 457. That Pericles himself introduced the bill for his rival's recall, is a detail which Plutarch probably derived from Craterus (Introd., p. 42). Such a course on the part of Pericles would be politic in the extreme, and tend to strengthen his position.

XVIII. 1. **After peace was made**: the five years' peace made in 450 (Thuc., i. 112, 1), so that Cimon's influence was by no means immediately effective. Meanwhile the Athenians, among other things, had fought the battle of Œnophyta, which gave them back the control of Bœotia; reduced Ægina to subjection; burned Gythium, the Spartan naval station; suffered the almost utter annihilation of their great expedition to Egypt; and made a fruitless excursion under Pericles in the Corinthian Gulf (Thuc., i. 108–111). No evidence has come down to us of Cimon's activity during this period. It is true that Diodorus speaks (xi. 80, *fin.*) of a four months' truce between Athens and Sparta immediately following the battle of Tanagra, but this is unsupported testimony and doubtful history. However, that Cimon was at last instrumental in effecting the five years' peace is intrinsically probable, is expressly stated by Diodorus (xi. 86, 1), and is to be inferred from the sadly confused words of Andocides (iii. 3, spoken about 393 B. C.), and from Æschines (ii. 172, spoken about 343 B. C.). See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 316, n. 3; Meyer, *Forsch.*, ii. pp. 57 f.

XVIII. 2. **Cimon had a dream**: it is uncertain from what

source Plutarch derives the strange material of §§ 3, 4, and 7; possibly from the Nausicrates (Naucrates) cited in xix. 4, probably from the Phanias from whom he derives so much similar material for his *Themistocles* (see Introd., p. 43).

XVIII. 5. Plutarch's version of Cimon's operations about Cyprus should be closely compared with that of Thucydides (i. 112, 1–4): "The Athenians now abstained from war in Hellas itself, but made an expedition to Cyprus with two hundred ships of their own and of their allies, under the command of Cimon. Sixty ships were detached from the armament and sailed to Egypt, at the request of Amyrtæus the king in the fens; the remainder proceeded to blockade Citium. Here Cimon died, and a famine arose in the country; so the fleet quitted Citium. Arriving off Salamis in Cyprus, they fought at sea and also on land with Phœnician and Cilician forces. Gaining a victory in both engagements, they returned home, accompanied by the ships which had gone out with them and had now returned from Egypt."

XVIII. 6. **Took his own life**: nothing definite was known by the Greeks about the time or the manner of Themistocles' death, and various traditions were current (see Plutarch's *Themistocles*, xxxi. 3–4 and notes). Those who held that Themistocles came to the court of Xerxes (*ob.* 465 B.C.) would naturally associate his reputed suicide with Cimon's victories at the Eurymedon in 467. Those, on the contrary, who held that it was to the court of Artaxerxes that Themistocles came, — and Plutarch sides with Thucydides on this point (*Themist.*, xxvii. 1),—were obliged to find the victories of Cimon which drove Themistocles to suicide in the campaign of 449, oblivious of the fact that Themistocles was then long dead. In his *Themistocles* (chap. xxxi. 3), Plutarch seems to take a middle course, and attribute to Cimon a "mastery of the sea" sufficient to induce Themistocles to take his own life in 459. But at this time we know that Cimon was in exile. Here, in the *Cimon*, for the sake of the effective contrast between Themistocles and Cimon, he suffers himself to lapse into the grosser error of associating

the reputed suicide of Themistocles with the last campaign of Cimon in 449. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 137, note 5.

The shrine of Ammon: in an oasis of the Libyan desert. Crœsus consulted this oracle among many others (Herod., i. 46); it was consulted by the Lacedæmonians more frequently than by the rest of the Greeks (Paus., iii. 18, 2), and Cimon was of known Laconian sympathies; and the visit of Alexander the Great to the oracle is well known.

XIX. 1. **He died of sickness**: this is implied by Thucydides (i. 112, 4, cited in note on xviii. 5), and is expressly stated by Theopompus (Nepos, *Cimon*, iii. 4) and Ephorus (Diod., xii. 4–6). Both Ephorus and Theopompus, however, differ from Thucydides in putting the death of Cimon after, instead of before glorious victories, which, according to Ephorus, secured the glorious "Peace of Callias" (see notes on xiii. 5 and 6).

But some say: probably Phanodemus (Introd., p. 39), who is cited just below by name.

The force was brought back in safety: it may fairly be inferred from the words of Thucydides (cited in note on xviii. 5) that the double victory at Salamis had to be won by the Athenians in order to secure an unmolested departure for home, and such inference is made in the late historical compilation passing under the name of Aristodemus (xiii. 1, Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, v. p. 15). This campaign of the Athenians against Cyprus (and Egypt) was really a failure, in spite of the brilliant double victory by sea and land. But the Athenians naturally dwelt rather on the victory than the failure, and erected a monument to commemorate it, bearing an inscription erroneously cited by Ephorus (Diod., xi. 62, 3) for the victories at the Eurymedon in 467 (see note on xii. 2). No such victory, the inscription declares, by land and sea at the same time, had ever been won. Many Persians were slain, and one hundred Phœnician ships captured with their crews (*cf.* the details of the victory at the Eurymedon in xii. 6—xiii. 2). The whole

account of this last campaign of Cimon at Cyprus which Ephorus gave (Diod., xii. 3–4), is in many of its details a duplicate of that of the battles at the Eurymedon (xi. 60–62). Both are full of fantastic exaggerations and impossibilities. See Meyer, *Forsch.*, ii. pp. 17 ff.

XIX. 2. **Clashed together in war**: the Peloponnesian War, 431–404.

XIX. 3. **Overwhelmed . . . by . . . Hellenic disorders**: in the spring of 394, just as he was about to set out on his march into the heart of the Persian Empire, where he would doubtless have anticipated many of Alexander's conquests, he was recalled by the Spartan authorities to deal with the Thebans, Athenians, Corinthians, and Argives, who were leagued together against Sparta in the so-called "Corinthian War" (395–387).

Within four hundred furlongs of the sea: a highly rhetorical exaggeration of the *status quo* after the battles at the Eurymedon in 467, which was recognized more or less definitely by the Persians in the so-called "Peace of Callias" in 449. By the terms of this peace, or mutual agreement, according to Ephorus (Diod., xii. 4, 5), and as the Athenians finally came to believe, all Hellenic cities of Asia were to be independent; no Persian satrap was to come within three days' journey of the sea; and no Persian ship of war was to sail west of Phaselis and the Cyanean isles. See note on xiii. 5.

XIX. 4. **Monuments . . . called Cimonian**: *cf.* chap. iv. 2.

Nausicrates: probably Naucrates is meant (Introd., p. 38).

NOTES ON THE *PERICLES*

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I. 1. **Cæsar**: probably Cæsar Augustus, with whose well known *gravitas* the saying well accords.

I. 4. **Search them out**: reading *ἱστορήσασιν* with the Tauchnitz (Bekker) text, the emendation of Reiske (following Amyot), instead of the vulgate *ἱστορήμασιν*.

I. 5. **Antisthenes**: of Athens, one of the most devoted followers of Socrates, and, after his Master's death, the founder of the Cynic school of philosophy. Diogenes the Cynic was one of his immediate pupils.

Ismenias: a representative Bœotian and especially Theban name, as is shown by its use in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, vv. 861, 954. Flute-playing was the one art in which the Thebans excelled all other Greeks, an art which the Athenians affected to despise. See Plutarch's *Alcibiades*, i. 4–6.

Philip: of Macedon, to his son Alexander.

II. 1. **The Zeus at Pisa**: the seated chryselephantine figure made by Pheidias for the temple of Zeus at Olympia, probably during the years 438–432 B. C. "Those who enter the temple see not ivory from India, and gold from Thrace, but the real son of Kronos and Rhea, translated to the earth by Pheidias" (Lucian, *de sacrificiis*, 11). For a full description of this great work see Pausanias, v. 11, with Frazer's notes.

The Hera at Argos . . . Polycleitus: also a seated chryselephantine figure, made for the temple of the goddess near Argos, probably soon after 422 B. C. The goddess was represented as "the bride and consort of Zeus, the perfect type of youthful womanhood," and the work was recognized as a worthy mate to the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias. See Pausanias, ii. 17, with Frazer's notes.

The two creations and their creators play much the same part in the *Dream* of Lucian. Art says to the dreamer, "From such simplicity of life as mine the famous Pheidias gave to the world his Zeus, and Polycleitus wrought his Hera." But Culture retorts, "Even if you should become a Pheidias or a Polycleitus, and produce many wonderful works, men will all praise your art, of course, but not a single one who sees your works will, if he has any sense, pray to become like you. However great you may become, you will still be regarded as a mere mechanic, a handicraftsman, living by the work of your hands." In the next sentence Plutarch goes even farther than Lucian, and consigns the poets also to the artisan class. It is the attitude of a genuine "Junker," but eminently Athenian.

Anacreon: the famous lyric poet of the latter part of the sixth century B. C., who sang the praises of love and wine and royal masters at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens. He was a native of Teos, a city in Ionian Asia Minor.

Philetas: of Cos, a poet and critic of the earlier Alexandrian school, who flourished under the first Ptolemy during the closing years of the third and the opening years of the second century B. C. His poetry consisted chiefly of amatory elegies. Theocritus and Propertius expressly mention him as a model whom they strove to imitate.

Archilochus: of Paros, the roving soldier-poet of the earlier seventh century B. C. He was as famous among the Greeks for his satiric iambics as Homer for his epics. Horace imitates the structure, though not the spirit, of his poetry. Pericles quotes from him in xxviii. 5.

II. 4. **This tenth book**: each book contained a pair of *Lives*, — a Greek and a Roman. The first book, which is lost, probably contained the lives of Epaminondas and Scipio Major. The fifth book, according to Plutarch's express statement (*Demosthenes*, iii.), contained the *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, as the twelfth the *Dion* and *Brutus* (*Dion*, ii.). More than this cannot be said with certainty, but there are reasons

for thinking that the *Themistocles* and the *Cimon* preceded the *Demosthenes*, and that the *Aristides*, *Nicias*, and *Alexander* followed the *Pericles*, as it is certain that the *Alcibiades* was one of the last in time of composition. See Introduction to the *Themistocles and Aristides*, p. 9.

Fabius Maximus: the "parallel" with Pericles is certainly forced, as is the case with so many others. The brief introductory comparison between the two which now follows is supplemented (as in the *Cimon-Lucullus*) by a formal and elaborate comparison at the close of the *Fabius Maximus*. Pericles swayed a wantonly prosperous state, Fabius stayed a falling commonwealth; on the whole, Pericles was the more successful general, and had clearer foresight of things to come; Pericles caused the war which proved the destruction of his city, while Fabius only persisted in a war which threatened to destroy his; Fabius was considerate of his rivals, while Pericles had his banished; Pericles was clothed with far more power than Fabius, and so met with far less disaster, while he adorned his city with structures to which all the ornaments of Rome down to the time of the Cæsars bore no comparison.

It will be seen, then, that Plutarch's comparisons between the two are mainly contrasts, and that the general policy of safe defensive warfare, the "Fabian" policy, which makes them most alike, is not mentioned by him.

III. 1. **Tribe . . . deme**: by one of the most beneficent of the reforms of Cleisthenes (510–508 B.C.), the demes or townships of Attica, between one and two hundred in number, were distinguished in three regions: the region of the city, the region of the coast, and that of the interior. In each of these regions the demes (and "wards" of the city) were arranged in ten groups, called *trittyes*, making thirty trittyes in all. These trittyes, or groups of demes, were then formed into ten groups of three trittyes each, but in such a way that no group contained two trittyes from the same region. Each of these groups of three trittyes constituted a tribe, and the citizens of the widely separated

demes making up the group were fellow-tribesmen. The ten new tribes were named after legendary heroes as follows: Erechtheïs, Ægeïs, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Œneïs, Cecropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, and Antiochis. They were based on artificial geographical regions, and took the place of the four old Ionic tribes which were based on birth. The political influence of families and clans was thus minimized. "The deme, a local unit, replaced the social unit of the clan."

On this arrangement of the citizens of Attica into tribes much of the machinery of the Athenian constitution was based. An Athenian citizen was individualized now not only by his own name and his father's name, as heretofore, but also by that of his deme and tribe.

At Mycale: the mountainous promontory on the coast of Ionia in Asia Minor, opposite the island of Samos, on the southern shore of which, early in August, 480 B. C., an allied Hellenic fleet of 110 ships, under the command of the Spartan King Leotychides, annihilated a Persian fleet of more than double its size. Xanthippus commanded the Athenian contingent only, but the story of the battle which Herodotus gives (ix. 96–106), credits the Athenians with the lion's share in the victory. Xanthippus belonged to the priestly family of the Buzygæ, connected with the cults of Eleusis,—a family of the older and conservative nobility.

Granddaughter: his niece rather. Plutarch apparently confuses Cleisthenes the reformer of the Athenian constitution with his grandfather of the same name, the famous tyrant of Sicyon, to the wooing of whose daughter Agariste, the grandmother of the mother of Pericles, Herodotus devotes such sprightly chapters (vi. 126–131).

Expelled the Peisistratidæ: in 511 B. C., as narrated by Herodotus, v. 62–65. Chapters 66–69 then describe the reforms of Cleisthenes.

III. 2. **Had given birth to a lion**: "Thus ended the affair of the suitors [for the hand of the elder Agariste], and thus the Alcmæonidæ came to be famous throughout the whole of Greece. The issue of this marriage [with Mega-

cles the Alcmæonid] was the Cleisthenes — so named after his grandfather the Sicyonian — who made the tribes at Athens, and set up the popular government. Megacles had likewise another son, called Hippocrates, whose children were a Megacles and an Agariste, the latter named after Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes. She married Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron; and when she was with child by him had a dream, wherein she fancied that she was delivered of a lion; after which, within a few days, she bore Xanthippus a son, to wit, Pericles" (Herod., vi. 131).

For this reason: a naïve assumption of Plutarch's. The real reason was that Pericles was for many years *Strategos*, or general, and the helmet was the natural symbol of this office. The best portrait-bust of Pericles is that after Cresilas, a contemporary of Pericles, in the British Museum (Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 317).

III. 3. **Cratinus ... Cheirons ... Nemesis**: Cratinus was a poet of the Old Comedy, an elder contemporary and rival of Aristophanes (Introd., p. 53). His *Cheirons* — so named from the chorus, which consisted of Centaurs like Cheiron, the instructor of Achilles — and his *Nemesis* (*i. e.* Aspasia) both contained bitter personal attacks on Pericles and Aspasia. See Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. pp. 86, 49.

The head-compeller: *κεφαληγερέταν*, with play upon the Homeric epithet of Zeus the "cloud-compeller," — *νεφεληγερέταν*.

Of guests and heads the Lord: *ξένιε καὶ καράνιε*, the first a standing epithet of Zeus as protector of the laws of hospitality, the second easily suggesting *κεραύνιε*, "Lord of the thunder-bolt."

III. 4. **Telecleides, Eupolis**: an older and a younger poet of the Old Comedy, the latter closely contemporary with Aristophanes (Introd., pp. 35, 53).

Eleven couched: *i. e.* large enough to accommodate eleven banqueting couches. The name of the play of which this is a fragment is uncertain (Kock, *op. cit.*, i. p. 220).

The very head, etc.: the "Demes" of Eupolis was so called from the chorus, which consisted of representatives of the townships of Attica. The play satirized the internal politics of Athens, and was produced, as the context implies, after the death of Pericles (Kock, *op. cit.*, i. p. 280).

IV. 1. **Aristotle says**: no such statement has come down to us from Aristotle, and it is possible that Plutarch uses the name by a slip of the pen for Plato. "And Pericles is said not to have got his wisdom by the light of nature, but to have associated with several of the philosophers; with Pythocleides, for example, and with Anaxagoras, and now in advanced life with Damon, in the hope of gaining wisdom" (*Alcib. I.*, 118 C). The implication here is that Pythocleides was an earlier teacher than Damon, which would justify Plutarch's "had a thorough musical training" (*μουσικὴν διαπονηθῆναι*). Plato has his Nicias speak of Damon (*Laches*, 180 D) as "the disciple of Agathocles, a most accomplished man in every way, as well as a musician, and a companion of inestimable value for young men." Isocrates also (xv. 235) speaks of Pericles as a pupil of Anaxagoras and of Damon, "who at that time was reputed to be the most discerning citizen."

A consummate sophist, etc.: this remark about Damon is based on the pompous speech which Plato puts into the mouth of Protagoras (*Protag.*, 316 D): "I maintain the art of the Sophist to be of ancient date; but that in ancient times those who practised the art, fearing this odium, veiled and disguised themselves under various names. . . . . Your own Agathocles pretended to be a musician, but was really an eminent sophist; also Pythocleides the Cean; and there were many others; and all of them, as I was saying, adopted these arts as veils or disguises because they were afraid of the envy of the multitude. But that is not my way, *etc.*"

IV. 2. **Was ostracized**: Plutarch alludes to Damon again in his *Aristides* (i. 5) as "ostracized because he was thought to be rather extraordinary in his wisdom," and the ostracism is merely mentioned in the *Nicias*, vi. 1. This

Damon is in all probability the same person as the Damonides mentioned in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (xxvii. 4) as the originator of most of the innovations of Pericles, and as having been ostracized on that account. When Plutarch cites this statement of Aristotle's below, in ix. 2, he is not aware of the identity of the musician and the politician. See Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, iii. p. 567.

Plato: *Comicus*, one of the younger contemporaries of Aristophanes (Introd., p. 53). He took the third prize with a "Cleophon" when Aristophanes took the first with his "Frogs" (405 B. C.). The name of the comedy of which these verses are a fragment is uncertain (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 655). As Cheiron taught Jason and Achilles music, so Damon Pericles.

IV. 3. **A pupil**: *i. e.* a hearer of his discourses. The item represents probably a misunderstanding of Plato, *Alc. I.*, 119 A: "Did you ever hear of any other Athenian or foreigner, bond or free, who was deemed to have grown wiser in the society of Pericles, — as I might cite Pythodorus, the son of Isolochus, and Callias, the son of Calliades, who have grown wiser in the society of Zeno?" Or else the statement is taken from learned comment on the passage in Plato, as most of the chapter is (Introd., p. 59).

Parmenides, Zeno: great master and favorite pupil, of the Eleatic school of idealistic philosophy. The master maintained the unity and eternity of being, and the pupil invented a system of dialectics to defend his master's tenets. Plato, a reverent admirer of Parmenides, represents him as visiting Athens with Zeno, and as being sought out eagerly by Socrates, then a very young man. Parmenides "was, at the time of his visit, about sixty-five years old, very white with age, but well favored. Zeno was nearly forty years of age, of a noble figure and fair aspect" (*Parmenides*, 127 A). It is quite possible that Plato invented this visit to Athens, but, as Jowett observes, "it is consistent with dates, and may possibly have occurred." Zeno the Eleatic, who flourished in the fifth century B. C., is to be distinguished from Zeno the

Stoic, who flourished in the third century B. C. (see note on "Painted Colonnade," *Cimon*, iv. 5). "Only four brief quotations from his works are extant, but tradition has preserved the memory of his ingenious arguments to disprove the possibility of motion and to demonstrate that the swift-footed Achilles could never overtake a tortoise. Plato (*Phædrus*, 261 D) makes Socrates refer to Zeno as the Palamedes who can make his hearers believe the same things to be both like and unlike, both one and many, and both at rest and in motion" (Seymour).

Timon of Phlius: a disciple of Pyrrho of Elis, and promulgator of the sceptical philosophy of his master. His life falls probably between the years 320–230 B. C., the latter part of which he spent at Athens. He composed satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, from one of which Plutarch's quotation is taken.

IV. 4. **Anaxagoras**: a native of Clazomenæ in Ionian Asia Minor. He was born about 500 B. C., and came to Athens about 460, where he had great influence on advanced thinkers like Pericles and Euripides. The enemies of Pericles secured his banishment about 432, and he died at Lampsacus in 428 (see xxxii. 3, and note). Two of his doctrines anticipated some of the noblest phases of modern thought. One of them Plutarch proceeds to notice; the other was the doctrine of "rotation," our "Nebular Hypothesis." See the note on *Themistocles*, ii. 3.

V. 1. **The so-called**: by Plato, in the *Phædrus*, 270 A, where Socrates is given a playful mockery which Plutarch seems to miss. "All the superior arts," Socrates is made to say, "require many words (ἀδολεσχίας) and much discussion of the higher truths (μετεωρολογίας) of nature; hence comes all loftiness of thought and perfectness of execution. And this, as I conceive, was the quality which, in addition to his natural gifts, Pericles acquired from Anaxagoras, whom he happened to know. He was thus imbued with the higher philosophy (μετεωρολογίας), and attained the knowledge of Mind, which was the favorite theme of Anaxagoras, and ap-

plied what he learned to the art of speaking." This passage is drawn upon by Plutarch again in viii. 1.

Cast of attire: *i. e.* adjustment of the large square mantle (ἱμάτιον) which served as outer garment. A decorous and dignified cast of this mantle concealed, or at least confined, both arms. Cleon, the successor of Pericles, first "stripped the bema of its decorum, setting the fashion of yelling when he harangued the people, of girding up his himation, slapping his thigh, and running about while speaking" (Plut., *Nicias*, viii. 3).

V. 3. **The poet Ion**: a particular friend of Cimon, and therefore somewhat prejudiced against Pericles. See Introduction, p. 36.

Praises . . . Cimon: see the *Cimon*, chapter ix.

V. 4. **A dramatic tetralogy**: consisting of three tragedies and a satyr-play, or coarse mythological farce.

Zeno: see on iv. 3.

VI. 1. The doctrines of this paragraph are expanded at great length in Plutarch's treatise *de Superstitione* (*Morals*, 165 ff.), in which the author shows acquaintance with the teachings of Anaxagoras about eclipses.

VI. 2. **Lampon**: the most famous seer of the time, much ridiculed by contemporary comedy, but apparently trusted and utilized by Pericles. He played a leading rôle in the darling project of Pericles,—the settlement of Thurii in Italy, 444 B. C. He was, of course, a representative of the older religion. See on viii. 6.

VI. 3. **Was overthrown**: *i. e.* was ostracized, in 442, as stated in xiv. 2. It is Thucydides, son of Melesias, not the historian, son of Olorus. The former was the successor of Cimon as leader of the conservative party. See viii. 3 f., and note on 4.

VI. 4. **Has been made to have some meaning**: by assuming this to be true of "divine portents" as well as of "artificial tokens," Plutarch naïvely begs the question.

VII. 1. **Like the tyrant Peisistratus**: this idea of resemblance in feature and manner between Pericles and Peisistratus

may well have had its genesis in the taunts of the comic poets, who called Pericles and his associates "the new Peisistratidæ" (xvi. 1), and Plutarch apparently has in mind here the story into which the fancy crystallized, and which appears in Valerius Maximus, a compiler of historical anecdotes who wrote under Tiberius. "It is said that an aged man who heard the youthful Pericles make his first public harangue, and who in his own youth had heard Peisistratus, then well on in years, haranguing in public, could not keep from crying out that they should beware of that citizen because his speech was like that of Peisistratus" (viii. 9, 3). It is not unlikely that Cicero had the same story in mind when he wrote (*Brutus*, 27) that before Pericles and Thucydides, Peisistratus was thought to have been a powerful speaker. The public policy of Pericles, if not his personal presence, was in many important features like that of the great tyrant.

To a military career: of this early military career we know nothing.

VII. 2. **When Aristides was dead**: soon after 468.

Themistocles in banishment: after 472.

VII. 3. **Began to court the favor of the multitude**: Plutarch's inference here is false. Courting the favor of the multitude was the road to the Greek "tyranny," as Peisistratus had showed.

VII. 4. **His kinsman**: the mothers of Euryptolemus and Pericles were first cousins, — Isodice, wife of Cimon, and Agariste (see on *Cimon*, iv. 9).

Until the libations were made: *i. e.* till the wine for the symposium was brought in, and drinking began, — until the "cloth was removed."

VII. 5. **The Salaminian trireme**: one of the two sacred galleys reserved at Athens for special state services. The other was the "Paralus." The absence of one of these, on its annual mission to Delos, gave Socrates a month's reprieve from death. The "Salaminian" was sent to bring Alcibiades back from Sicily (Thuc., vi. 53, 1).

Critolaus: cited by Plutarch in his *Political Precepts*, xv.

= *Morals*, 811 C. "But others there are, that hold Pericles' manner of acting to have been more magnanimous and august; amongst whom is Critolaus the Peripatetic, who thinks it meet that, as at Athens the Salaminian ship and the Paralus were not launched forth for every service, but only on necessary and great occasions, so that statesman employed himself only in the chiefest and greatest affairs."

This is probably the Critolaus of Phaselis in Lycia, who became head of the Peripatetic school at Athens, and conspicuous as orator and statesman as well, so that in 156 B. C., when more than eighty-two years old, he was sent by the Athenians on the famous embassy to Rome with Carneades and Diogenes (Cic., *de Or.*, ii. 155; Plut., *Cato Major*, xxii.).

VII. 6. **Ephialtes**: of this brave and incorruptible successor to Themistocles (*Cimon*, x. 8; xiii. 5; xv. 2) our knowledge is tantalizingly meagre, considering the far reaching importance of his work. Thucydides does not mention him. Aristotle, usually so severe upon men of his political principles, speaks of his reputation for incorruptibility and justice (*Const. of Athens*, xxv. 1), though he immediately details with some bitterness his onslaughts upon the aristocratic Council of the Areiopagus, and mentions his assassination as a natural consequence of such conduct. Almost all Plutarch's allusions to Ephialtes go back ultimately to Aristotle (see on *Cimon*, x. 7). "He was, it would seem, a passionate nature, who contended for the new democratic ideas with fanaticism, fought his opponents with bitterness, and was therefore visited by them with bloody hate" (Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iii. p. 566).

The words of Plato: "When a democracy which is thirsting for freedom has evil cup-bearers presiding over the feast, and has drunk too deeply of the strong wine of freedom, then, unless her rulers are very amenable and give a plentiful draught, she calls them to account and punishes them, and says they are cursed oligarchs" (*Republic*, viii. 562 C).

The comic poets: possibly the Telecleides cited in iii. 4

(Kock, *Com. Græc. Frag.*, iii. p. 406). The insolent treatment by imperial Athens of her subject allies is satirized.

VIII. 1. **Anaxagoras**: see iv. 1; v. 1; vi. 1, with notes.

Plato says: in the passage cited in the note on v. 1.

VIII. 3. **Thundering** and **lightening**: see the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, vv. 528–531:—

> "For Pericles, like an Olympian Jove,
> With all his thunder and his thunderbolts,
> Began to storm and lighten dreadfully,
> Alarming all the neighborhood of Greece" (Frere).

Dread thunderbolt, etc.: this quotation cannot be traced to any definite source, but such material must have been superabundant. Ephorus must have had a similar passage on this theme, judging from Diodorus, xii. 40, 5: "These measures he easily carried by means of the power of his speech, on account of which he was called 'Olympian.'" And the testimony of Thucydides (ii. 65, 9) is not irrelevant: "When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them."

VIII. 4. **Archidamus**: after the ostracism of Thucydides in 442 (see vi. 3 and note), it would have been natural for him, with his political sympathies, to take refuge in Sparta. Here Archidamus was King from 469 to 427 B.C. He led in the first two invasions of Attica in the Peloponnesian War, the first decade of which is sometimes called from him the "Archidamian War." This anecdote has every appearance of authenticity, and its preservation may be due to Ion or Stesimbrotus. Plutarch uses it also in his *Morals*, 802 C.

Prayed the Gods: so in the *Morals*, 803 F, it is that no irrelevant word may occur to him that Pericles prays. In an apparently later and less impressive form of the story (Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, iv. 10; Quintilian, *Or. Inst.*, xii. 9), it is rather that no word of his may offend the people,—"ne quod sibi verbum in mentem veniret quo populus offenderetur." The same anxious regard for the favor of the people is indicated

in the story (*Morals*, 813 D) that whenever Pericles put on the robes of office he said to himself, "Take heed, Pericles, the men are freemen whose magistrate thou art, they are Hellenes, citizens of Athens."

VIII. 5. **Decrees**: accessible to Plutarch in the collection of Craterus (see Introd., p. 42).

Ægina: the great maritime power which Athens gradually supplanted, and at last, after robbing her of Egyptian commerce, crushed in 456. See the note on *Themistocles*, iv. 1. Aristotle mentions this metaphor of Pericles (*Rhet.*, iii. 10).

War swooping down from Peloponnesus: the expression was probably used on the occasion referred to in xxix. 1. The metaphor is that of a storm cloud.

Naval expedition: that which reduced rebellious Samos in 440–439 (see below in § 6). Sophocles apparently rendered Pericles important diplomatic services, not only by preventing the defection at this critical moment for the Athenian Empire of Lesbos and Chios, but by actually obtaining from them strong naval reinforcements against Samos. So much may be inferred from the delightful glimpses of Sophocles the diplomat given us by Ion (as preserved in *Athen.*, xiii. 603 f.), and from Thuc., i. 115–117.

The present anecdote is most happily repeated by Cicero (*de Off.*, i. 144): "bene Pericles, cum haberet collegam in prætura Sophoclem poetam iique de communi officio convenissent et casu formosus puer præteriret dixissetque Sophocles 'O puerum pulchrum, Pericle!' 'At enim prætorem, Sophocle, decet non solum manus, sed etiam oculos abstinentis habere.'" It is playful banter on the part of Pericles, like that reported by Ion (*loc. cit.*) to the effect that Sophocles "knew how to write poetry, but not how to be a general."

VIII. 6. **Funeral oration**: for the custom of the funeral oration, see Thuc., ii. 34. Another extract from the Samian funeral oration is preserved by Aristotle (*Rhet.*, i. 7 and 10). Pericles said the city had been deprived of her youth as though the year had been robbed of its spring. In another connection, probably, he said the Samians were like little

children, who take the meat given them, but in tears (Aristotle, *Rhet.*, iii. 4). Aristotle also reports (*Rhet.*, iii. 18) that Pericles once asked Lampon (see on vi. 2) about the rites of initiation into the mysteries, and when the seer answered that it was not possible for an uninitiated person to hear about these things, Pericles asked if he knew about them himself. "How can I," said Lampon, "when I am uninitiated?"

An authentic extract from a speech of Pericles is given in xii. 3, 4; and other "memorable sayings" may be found in xviii. 1 and 2; xxxiii. 4; xxxv. 2; and xxxviii. 4. Cicero speaks (*Brut.*, 27; *de Orat.*, ii. 93) of certain speeches of Pericles which were current in his time, but the authenticity of these was doubted even then.

We doubtless owe the present extract from the Samian funeral oration to a desire on the part of Stesimbrotus to show Pericles a free thinker.

IX. 1. **Thucydides**: the famous passage (ii. 65, 8, 9) runs in full as follows: "The reason of the difference [between him and his successors] was that he, deriving authority from his capacity and acknowledged worth, being also a man of transparent integrity, was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but, on the strength of his own high character, could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and, when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen."

Many others: especially Plato. His Socrates would "like to know whether the Athenians are supposed to have been made better by Pericles, or, on the contrary, to have been corrupted by him; for I hear that he was the first who gave the people pay, and made them idle and cowardly, and encouraged them in the love of talk and money" (*Gorgias*, 515).

Allotments of public lands: *i. e.* the assignment of the land of conquered and expatriated Greeks to Athenian citizens, who remained such, and did not become colonists. The territory of Chalcis in Eubœa was first occupied in this manner in 510 B. C. (Herod., v. 77). It was planting a military garrison in a hostile country. The system was extensively used by Pericles. It was a great safety valve for the rapidly increasing population of Athens, but brought bitter hatred upon her empire. The practice was carefully avoided in the second Athenian Confederacy of 378–7.

Festival grants: in a large sense, funds of the state expended on public festivals of various sorts, but here with special reference to a particular grant by the state to her poorer citizens of the sum (a *drachma*, or about twenty cents) charged for admission to the regular dramatic festival, of three days' duration. The practice was probably introduced by Pericles.

Distributions of fees: first and foremost to the dicasts, or juror-judges of the law-courts, six thousand of whom were chosen annually by lot. According to Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 3), Pericles was the first to introduce the payment of fees for service in the dicasteries, in order to counteract the popular effect of Cimon's generosity. Citizens of the poorer class could thus earn a meagre livelihood in the service of the state. The pay was two obols *per diem* at first, and, after 425 B. C., three obols (half a drachma). The *Wasps* of Aristophanes (422 B. C.) gives us graphic pictures of the ambitions, hopes, and fears of the professional dicast. Stated pay for service of the citizens in fleet and army was already made when Pericles introduced this dicast-fee. Pay for the members of the Council of Five Hundred soon followed, and finally, though after the time of Pericles, for the members of the Assembly. A somewhat scornful summary, from an oligarchical standpoint, of all the payments from public funds to the citizens, is given in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, xxiv.: "And so it came to pass that more than twenty thousand men were supported from the revenues and taxes.

There were six thousand dicasts, sixteen hundred bowmen, and besides these twelve hundred knights; a Council of five hundred, five hundred sentries for the arsenals, and besides these fifty sentries on the Acropolis; home magistrates to the number of seven hundred, and foreign magistrates to the number of seven hundred; and besides these, after they had gone to war, later, twenty-five hundred hoplites, twenty guardships and other ships carrying the two thousand men chosen by lot for guard and revenue service; and still further, residents in the prytaneium, orphans, and prison officials. All these drew their maintenance from the public funds." But in no other way, in the absence of the representative system, could the poorer citizen take part in the government of his city. See Jebb, *The Age of Pericles*, in *Essays and Addresses*, pp. 112–116.

This change in him: *i. e.* from the ways of a demagogue to the stern and aristocratic leadership attributed to him by Thucydides. The discussion of this change continues through chapter xv., and culminates in the phrase "But then he was no longer the same man as before" (xv. 2). It is Plutarch's naïve assumption in order to harmonize the conflicting estimates of Pericles' character and work which he finds on record. It makes Pericles a "brilliant opportunist." Some change came over Pericles, of course, when he found himself the undisputed master of the Athenian Empire. But it was not a complete change in character and methods. "The feeling of sole responsibility which oppresses an inferior personality raises a great man up. Pericles too became another and a greater man when he rose from the position of party leader to that of state controller" (Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv. pp. 48 f.).

IX. 2–3. **As has been said**: in vii. 3.

Furnishing a dinner, etc.: see *Cimon*, x. 1–8 and note.

As Aristotle has stated: *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 4. "For such public services [as Cimon's] Pericles had too little property, and therefore, on the advice of Damonides of Œa (who was thought to have advised most of Pericles' measures, and on this account was ostracized later), that, since his private

resources were too small, he should use the people's own resources for his gifts to them, he established the payment of fees to the dicasts." For Damonides, see iv. 2 and note.

According to Aristotle's unfriendly (oligarchical) interpretation, then, which Plutarch seems to adopt, the great democratic measures of Pericles were merely raids on the public treasury in his own political interests.

Council of the Areiopagus: the oldest Council of Athens, once composed exclusively of nobles, and recruited from ex-officials whom it had itself elected to office. It was long the sole depositary of political power. The growth of democracy at Athens may be traced by the successive transfers, in the reforms of Draco, Solon, Cleisthenes, Ephialtes, and Pericles, of the political powers of this body to the new Council of Five Hundred, to the popular law-courts, and to the Assembly. "Practically the only right left to the Areiopagus (when Pericles had completed the work begun by Ephialtes) was that of trying cases of wilful homicide, actual or attempted" (Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 452).

Archon Eponymous, etc.: the college of nine Archons, which represented in distribution the powers and prerogatives of the ancient King, consisted of six *Thesmothetæ*, or keepers of the codes of law; a Polemarch, once minister of war and commander-in-chief, but largely superseded early in the fifth century by the board of ten Generals; a *Basileus*, or King Archon, who exercised some of the religious functions of the ancient King; and the Archon *par excellence*, or presiding Archon, the titular head of the state, who was in later times called Eponymous from the fact that he headed various official lists. He gave the name to the official year.

In ancient times: *i. e.* from Plutarch's standpoint. The Archons were originally nominated by the Council of the Areiopagus; then for a while they were elected by the general assembly of the people; after Solon (594 B. C.), they were appointed by lot from forty candidates selected by the four tribes; after Cleisthenes (508), and down to 487, they were again elected by the general assembly of the people;

from 487, they were again appointed by lot from one hundred (or five hundred) candidates selected by the ten tribes. See Sandys on Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, xxii. 5. For the effect of the system of lot in the appointment to the office, see Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 261.

Properly acquitted themselves: *i. e.* passed successfully the official examination by the courts at the close of their administration.

IX. 4. **Most of its jurisdiction**: "then he [Ephialtes] took away from the Council all those prerogatives by which it exercised the guardianship of the state, and assigned some to the Council of Five Hundred, some to the Assembly, and some to the dicasteries" (Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xxv. 2). The attack was preceded by the prosecution of many Areiopagites for malfeasance in office, and was probably made during Cimon's absence on his expedition in aid of Sparta in 462.

Was ostracized: on his return from his expedition to Sparta, when he tried to undo the work of Ephialtes and restore the Areiopagus to its old powers. See *Cimon*, xvii. 2 and note.

X. Most of the material of this chapter has already been handled by Plutarch in his *Cimon*, chapter xvii., which should be carefully compared. The notes there given are for the most part pertinent here also. The differences between the two versions of the same events are easily explained by the natural personal emphasis laid now on Cimon and now on Pericles.

X. 1. **In the mean while**: in 457 B. C., after Cimon had been in banishment five years. Thucydides describes the campaign in i. 107, 108, 1–2.

The friends of Pericles: characteristic of a later and freer use of the sources for *Cimon*, xvii. 4, where it is the Council of Five Hundred which decides Cimon's case.

X. 2. **For which reason**: *i. e.* because he was responsible for the rejection of Cimon's aid, and wished to show that the hero's place could be filled.

All the friends of Cimon: to the number of one hundred, according to *Cimon*, xvii. 5.

With the coming of spring: when Peloponnesian armies usually began the military operations of a campaign.

X. 3. **Wrote with his own hand**: Pericles yielded gracefully to defeat. Almost unconsciously a remembrance of the similar case of the recall of Aristides (Plut., *Them.*, xi. 1) on motion of Themistocles leads Plutarch to make an enforced action seem magnanimous.

Made peace: not immediately, but in 450 B. C. See on *Cimon*, xviii. 1. Plutarch's sentence condenses years of effort.

X. 4. **Some say**: Stesimbrotus is doubtless the source for the following item, since it is he who is cited by name in *Cimon*, xiv. 4, as authority for the Elpinice story which follows in § 5. Such a compact between Cimon and Pericles must have been made, if at all, after the conclusion of the five years' peace in 450 B. C., and before Cimon's last naval expedition. The compact may well be a mere inference from this expedition. To what low depths such gossip can sink, is seen in Athenæus, 589 E: Elpinice barters her personal charms for Cimon's recall. See on *Cimon*, xiv. 4.

X. 5. **It was thought**: instructive for Plutarch's methods of citation, when compared with the "Stesimbrotus says" of *Cimon*, xiv. 4.

When he stood his trial: see *Cimon*, xiv. 2–4 and notes.

X. 6. **How then**: if Pericles was so magnanimous towards an opponent.

Idomeneus: see Introd., p. 58. The accusation doubtless originated with the oligarchical opponents of Pericles, if not with Idomeneus himself.

Not in all points irreproachable, etc.: a summing up of Plutarch's estimate of Pericles, of which the *Life* may be considered a detailed illustration.

X. 7. **As Aristotle says**: *Const. of Athens*, xxv. 4. According to other and good tradition (Antiphon, v. 68, delivered *ca.* 420 B. C.; Diod., xi. 77, 6), the murderer was not discovered.

Died on his campaign in Cyprus: see *Cimon*, xix. 1, 2, and notes.

XI. 1. **Thucydides**: son of Melesias. See vi. 3; viii. 4 and notes.

A relative: his son-in-law. In the *Constitution of Athens*, xxviii. 2, Aristotle pairs off, as leaders of the popular and aristocratic parties respectively, Ephialtes and Cimon; Pericles and Thucydides, "who was a relative by marriage of Cimon."

XI. 2. **Wrestling bouts with Pericles**: see the anecdote in viii. 4.

XI. 4. **Gave the reins to the people**: like the demagogue that he was before the "change in him" took place. See the last note on ix. 1.

"**Amusing them, etc.**": an iambic trimeter from an unknown source.

Eight months: the season of safe navigation.

Under pay: since the beginning of great naval operations the citizens had received an allowance for provisions while on military or naval service; under Pericles they received pay besides. This fleet of sixty triremes did guard and revenue service throughout the domains of the Confederacy. It took two hundred men to man a trireme. See the citation from the *Constitution of Athens* in the note on "distributions of fees," ix. 1.

XI. 5. **Settlers**: citizens from the poorer classes to whom parcels of conquered territory had been allotted. See note on "allotments of public lands," ix. 1.

The Chersonesus: the Thracian peninsula to the west of the Hellespont, formerly the seat of Miltiades' "tyranny," and always important in the relations between Europe and Asia. It had been won back from the Persians by Cimon in 466 B.C. See *Cimon*, xiv. 1 and note. This expedition of Pericles was made in 447, and is more fully described in xix. 1–2. It is mentioned also by Diodorus (xi. 88, 3).

Naxos: this island became an ally of Athens after the Persian wars, and was the first to revolt and lose its inde-

pendence in 468. See Thucydides, i. 98, 4. These settlers, according to Diodorus (*l. c.*), were led by Tolmides (*cf.* xviii. 3), perhaps in the same year (447) as the expedition to the Chersonesus, though the chronology is not secure. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 412–418; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv. pp. 21–22.

Andros: there is no other mention of the expedition to this island, but there is no good ground for questioning it, and it is probable that Lemnos and Imbros also were occupied by settlers at about the same time, namely, 446 B. C.

Thrace . . . the Bisaltæ: these settlers were sent into the rich tract of land to the west of the lower Strymon River. The date of the expedition is uncertain. It is barely possible that this colony is identical with that established at Brea in 446–445, regarding which an extant inscription (CIA, i. 31; Hicks and Hill, 41) brings rare and interesting testimony. "We learn from it that ten Commissioners were chosen, one from each tribe, to divide the land among the colonists. Democlides, author of the decree, was appointed founder. . . . The connection with the mother-city was to be maintained by embassies and contributions to the two great Athenian festivals, Panathenæa and Dionysia. The decree contains also regulations for the sacrifices to be offered for the new colony, the erection of columns containing the public records, guarantees for the maintenance of the decrees concerning the colony, regulations about the time of the departure of the colonists, and the requisite supply of money. In a rider, carried by Phantocles, express provision is made for the colonists being taken from the third and fourth classes."

Sybaris: this typically rich and luxurious Greek city had been utterly destroyed in 510 B. C. by its rival city, Croton. In 453 some of its expatriated citizens returned and attempted to reoccupy the old site, but were soon driven away by the Crotoniates. This exact site was not chosen for the new colony, but one not far removed, near a spring called Thuria.

Thurii: this was the darling colonization scheme of Peri-

cles, which he hoped to make a Pan-Hellenic undertaking under Athenian leadership. Among many other famous men, not Athenians, Herodotus the historian took part in the enterprise, which was begun in 444, under splendid auspices, but came to a disastrous end in 433. The ambitions of the commercial democracy of Athens for the control of the commerce of the West, which afterwards culminated in the fatal Sicilian expedition, were doubtless potent during the lifetime of Pericles, and influenced this phase of his colonial policy. They became supreme after his death, and found a champion in Alcibiades.

XII. 1. **Maligned and slandered**: as part of his policy of catering to the desires of the people.

They cried out: we probably have, in what follows (§§ 2–4), an authentic report by a contemporary, — Stesimbrotus or some other, — of a great debate in the Assembly between Thucydides and Pericles.

Removed . . . from Delos: in 454, in consequence of the disastrous outcome of the Athenian expedition to Egypt (see Thuc., 1. 109–110), the treasury of the Delian Confederacy was removed from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos to the temple of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens. The Delian Confederacy now became officially an Athenian empire. According to Theophrastus (as cited in Plut., *Arist.*, xxv. 2), the removal was made on motion of the Samians, and was condoned by Aristides, the latter item certainly being historically impossible.

XII. 2. **Has robbed it**: by using the imperial moneys for the adornment of Athens rather than for the exclusion of the Persians from the Ægean Sea, which was the original purpose of the Delian Confederacy and its tribute moneys.

Worth their millions: literally, "costing a thousand talents," a rhetorical round sum. The talent was equivalent to about $1,200, or £250, and the purchasing power of money was at least five times greater then than now.

The Parthenon is, of course, principally meant, the plan for which had been adopted as early as 457, ten years before the

beginning of its execution in 447. The gold-ivory statue for this alone cost 700 talents. The Propylæa cost about 2,000 talents.

XII. 3. **But money simply**: see *Cimon*, xi. 1 and note.

XII. 4. **Rouse every art**: "Now, under the guiding influence of Pericles, architects, sculptors, and painters combined in adorning it [the Upper City, Athens proper]. That which gave its distinctive stamp to their work was, ultimately, the great idea which animated them. Its inspiration was the idea of the Imperial City, Athens, as represented and defended by the goddess Athena; the Athens which, with the aid of gods and heroes, had borne the foremost part in rolling back the tide of barbarian invasion.

"In no other instance which history records, has art of a supreme excellence sprung from a motive at once so intelligible to the whole people, and so satisfying to the highest order of minds" (Jebb, *The Age of Pericles*, in *Essays and Addresses*, pp. 125 f.)

XII. 5. **The unwarlike throng**: the Thetes, the fourth and lowest class under the Solonian constitution, which was exempt at this time from service as heavy-armed soldiers or troopers.

XII. 6. **The arts**: Plutarch makes no distinction between what we regard as liberal and mechanical arts. All were on a common level as compared with political or military functions. See chapter ii. 1 and notes.

XII. 5–7. This throbbing description of industrial and artistic activity may also be drawn ultimately from arguments actually used in the Assembly by Pericles in supporting his use of the imperial funds. A paper by Professor Ferguson (*Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, Vol. 35, pp. 5–20) maintains effectually that the varied details of this remarkable chapter are substantially in accord with the actual economic conditions in the Athens of Pericles. "In summary, it may be said that the debate between Pericles and his adversaries contains no substantial inaccuracies. On the other hand, not only does it reveal close knowledge of the issues

raised by Thucydides in his campaign against Pericles, but it attributes to Pericles motives which could hardly have suggested themselves to another than a contemporary, — motives unnatural even in the fourth century."

XIII. 1. **Were fully completed**: this is true of all the works mentioned in the chapter except the Eleusinian sanctuary.

XIII. 2. **Agatharcus**: of Samos, specially prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter (460–420 B. C.). Alcibiades is said to have enticed him to his house and imprisoned him there that he might adorn it with his art (Plutarch, *Alc.*, xvi.; Demosthenes, xxi. 147). As the story is told in [Andocides], iv. 17, Agatharcus made his escape after three months.

Zeuxis: of Heracleia in Magna Græcia probably, the most famous painter of antiquity, who flourished during the latter part of the fifth and the first part of the fourth centuries. His specialty was the painting of living figures on panels. He aimed at and secured the highest degree of illusion, coupled with infinite charm and grace. His masterpiece was a picture of Helen. The anecdote would have more point if the two styles of painting were distinguished. In the *de amicorum multitudine*, 5 = *Morals*, 94 F, when sundry persons found fault with Zeuxis because he painted so slowly, "I admit," he said, "that my painting takes a long time, for it is to last a long time."

XIII. 4. **General manager . . . Pheidias**: the extent of this great sculptor's influence in producing the works of the Acropolis, and his intimacy with Pericles (see § 9), have doubtless been greatly exaggerated. For all his genius, in comparison with a statesman of aristocratic lineage like Pericles, he was, in Athens, but a superior craftsman. See ii. 1 and notes; and Fowler, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xii. pp. 217–220.

Parthenon: the temple of Athena Parthenos, built on the site of an older temple called Ecatompedos from its length of 100 feet, had three chambers: the Pronaos, or vestibule;

the Naos, or Cella, which was the Parthenon proper, and was sometimes called the Ecatompedon, since it preserved the length of the elder temple; and behind this the Opisthodomos, or sacred treasure-chamber. The entire structure measured 228 feet in length from east to west, 100 feet in breadth, and 64 feet in height. It was built of white marble from Mt. Pentelicus. For full description, see Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 304–312; D'Ooge, *Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 110 ff.

Callicrates and Ictinus: Ictinus is elsewhere mentioned as the architect (Pausanias, viii. 41, 9; Strabo, ix. 1, 12). Probably he planned the structure, and Callicrates carried out the plans for the building committee appointed by the Assembly, *i. e.* was the contracting builder, as he was of the long wall (§ 5).

Corœbus: probably the constructing architect, as Callicrates was of the Parthenon. According to Strabo (*l. c.*), Ictinus planned the structure. Plutarch seems to be drawing here from authentic documentary or monumental sources.

Sanctuary of the mysteries at Eleusis: this was not a temple, but a spacious structure designed to receive all the initiates for the performance of the sacred drama founded on the passion of Demeter. This was the crowning function of the nine days' celebration of the greater Eleusinian mysteries, to which all Greeks who had been duly initiated were admitted. An original sanctuary had been destroyed by the Persians. The new structure was a quadrilateral, about 175 by 179 feet, enclosing a space divided into seven parallel naves by six rows of columns, each of which supported a frieze and a second colonnade. The whole was surmounted by a roof with a cupola or lantern for the admission of light. "Eight tiers of steps, partly cut in the rock, partly built, ran all round the hall except at the entrances. . . . On these tiers of steps the initiated probably sat watching the performance of the mysteries which took place in the body of the hall." See Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 503–514, where also the best authorities for the mysteries themselves are cited.

In a decree of the Athenian Assembly passed about 440,

the offering of first fruits of the harvest to the Eleusinian goddesses was formally arranged for Athens and her allies, and recommended to Hellenes in general. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 474 ff.

XIII. 5. **The long wall**: about 458 (Thuc., i. 107, 1; 108, 3), two long walls had been built (see the note on *Cimon*, xiii. 7), one from the western wall of Athens to the northwestern edge of the Piræus, and one from a point more easterly in the wall of Athens to the eastern shore of the old harbor of Phalerum, running nearly due south. The space between these diverging walls was so great that an enemy might have effected lodgment there. Accordingly, soon after the Spartan invasion of 446, Pericles set on foot the building of a third long wall, close to and parallel with the first mentioned. As the old harbor of Phalerum was gradually superseded by the new harbor of Piræus, the old Phaleric long wall was abandoned. For full description and discussion, see Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 38–41.

Socrates says: "and I myself heard the speech of Pericles when he advised us about the middle wall" (Plato, *Gorgias*, 455 E).

Cratinus: see note on iii. 3. The citation is from an unknown play, and is found also in the *de gloria Atheniensium*, 8 = *Morals*, 351 A (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 100).

The Odeum: to be distinguished from the Odeum, or Music Hall, of Herodes Atticus, built about 150 A. D., the ruins of which now occupy the southwest slope of the Acropolis. The Odeum of Pericles was near the theatre of Dionysus, on the southeast slope of the Acropolis. See Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 219–221. "Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theatre is a structure said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes. It was rebuilt, for the old edifice was burned by the Roman general Sulla when he captured Athens" (Paus., i. 20, 4). The roof, according to Vitruvius (v. 9), was made of the masts and yard-arms of Persian ships.

XIII. 6. **Cratinus in his Thracian Women**: it is conject-

ured that this play may have dealt with the worship of the Thracian goddess Bendis, who had a temple in the Piræus (Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 4, 11), and that the chorus, from which the play takes its name, was composed of her ministrants.

The Squill-head Zeus: see iii. 2 f. and notes.

Now that the ostracism is o'er: *i. e.* now that Pericles had triumphed over his political opponent, Thucydides, son of Melesias. See xiv. 2 and note. The "Thracian Women" was therefore probably given in the year following the ostracism.

Then first: this measure of Pericles is either wrongly brought by Plutarch into connection with the completion of the Odeum, having really been passed much earlier, or else it dealt with the enlargement rather than the institution of musical contests at the Panathenaic festival, since we have good evidence of their existence as early as 461 (Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv. p. 90).

The Panathenaic festival: the greatest of the countless Athenian festivals, celebrated every fourth year, and occupying six days of the month nearly corresponding to our July. There were musical, athletic, and equestrian contests, crowned by the pageant of the great procession ideally depicted in the famous frieze of the Parthenon. The managers were elected for each term of four years, one from each of the ten tribes. Plutarch undoubtedly magnifies the special influence of Pericles.

In the Odeum: it was used also for dramatic and general civic purposes.

XIII. 7. **The Propylæa**: the grand gateway to the Acropolis, and the most beautiful structure upon it next to the Parthenon. Its material also was of Pentelic marble. For plan and description, see Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 248–255; D'Ooge, *Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 172-186.

In five years: 437–433. The Parthenon was dedicated in 438, when the statue of Athena was placed upon its pedestal.

XIII. 8. **A course of treatment**: the use of an herb

which grew on the Acropolis, and which was thereafter called Parthenium and held sacred to the goddess, according to the elder Pliny (*N. H.*, xxii. 17, 20). During Sulla's siege of Athens the starving people used it for food (Plutarch, *Sulla*, xiii. 2). "It is said to be the *Parietaria diffusa* of Linnæus, which still grows about the Acropolis in spring."

Statue of Athena Hygiæa: the base of a statue is still to be seen *in situ*, with the inscription (CIA, i. 335; Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 55): "Dedicated by the Athenians to Athena Hygiæa; made by Pyrrhus of Athens." Pericles, then, if Plutarch's account is to be believed, "fulfilled his vow in the name of the Athenian people." But grave doubts have been cast upon the romantic story. See Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 277–281; D'Ooge, *Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 283 ff.

XIII. 9. **Produced**: as sculptor and contractor combined (xxxi. 2).

Image of the goddess: a chryselephantine or gold-ivory statue, 39 feet in height. It is described by Pausanias, i. 24, 5–7, and Frazer's notes give the literature of the subject, as well as a cut of the most important reproduction of the image, — the Varvakeion statuette.

On the tablet: possibly the pillar which supported the right hand of the Athena with the figure of Victory, though Mr. Frazer doubts "whether *stele* (στήλη) ever means a supporting pillar; its usual, if not invariable, meaning is an inscribed or sculptured slab of stone or metal" (ii. p. 318). See Miss Bennett on "The So-called Mourning Athena," *Am. Jour. of Archæology*, xiii. (1909), pp. 435 f.

As I have said: in § 4, where see the first note.

XIII. 10. **Menippus**: otherwise unknown.

Pyrilampes: father of Demus, the famous youthful beauty of Athens. The peacock was brought to Athens from Asia, and excited much curiosity. Demus took over from his father the cult of the strange bird, and many would come even from Sparta and Thessaly to get sight of it (Athenæus, ix. p. 397 e).

XIII. 11. **Stesimbrotus**: see Introd., p. 36. This special charge against Pericles is alluded to again in xxxvi. 3. In spite of his indignant protest here, Plutarch has allowed himself to be influenced too much in his life of Pericles by the testimonies of the comic poets. This is painfully evident in chapters xxxi. and xxxii.

XIV. This chapter resumes the thought of xii., and is probably derived from the same contemporary source. The anecdote about Pericles it is impossible to believe with Plutarch's reference of it to the entire outlay of the state for public buildings. But if referred to a single budget, the last before the ostracism of Thucydides, it is not incredible.

XIV. 2. With his ostracism in 442, four years before the dedication of the Parthenon, Thucydides probably passes out of active influence at Athens for at least ten years. The anecdote of viii. 4 makes it probable that he retired to Sparta. The Thucydides who as general brought reinforcements to Pericles at Samos in 440 (Thuc., i. 117, 2), cannot be the same. The one who accused Anaxagoras of impiety and treason (Diog. Laert., ii. 3, 9) may be. It is barely possible that Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 703 ff., depicts him in his dotage. He was an upright and sincere opponent of the inevitable centralization of power in the Athenian Empire. Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xxviii. 5) pays him high tribute: "The best conservative Athenian statesmen, after the ancients, would seem to have been Nicias, Thucydides (son of Melesias), and Theramenes. As regards Nicias and Thucydides, there is almost universal agreement that they were not only good and true men, but also statesmen who served the state with all the affection of a father toward a child."

XV. 1. This rhetorical picture of the Athenian Empire and the vast power exercised by Pericles is given in colors of comic exaggeration at xvi. 2.

XV. 2. **No longer the same**: here Plutarch passes from the hostile testimonies on which chapters ix.–xiv. are largely based to the controversial and eulogistic estimate of Pericles which Thucydides gives in ii. 60 and 65. To reconcile the

two conflicting estimates he assumes a sudden and complete change in the manner and character of Pericles' statesmanship (see note on ix. 1), a change psychologically impossible.

A flowery and soft melody: recurring to the musical metaphor of viii. 1.

XV. 3. **By persuasions and instructions**: instead of giving reins to the people's desires and seeking to please them in all things (xi. 4 and 5).

XV. 4. **Plato's words**: "is not rhetoric, taken generally a universal art of enchanting the mind by arguments?" "Oratory is the art of enchanting the soul" (*Phædrus*, 261 A; 271 C).

XV. 5. **As Thucydides says**: cited in the note on ix. 1.

Great as it was: Themistocles made it great from small (Plut., *Them.*, ii. 3).

Hand on their swollen wealth: the text is here uncertain. Madvig's restoration might be rendered: "some of whom made him guardian of their sons when they died."

XVI. In this chapter Plutarch reverts to material akin to that which underlies chapters vii. and viii., giving, however, his own mild and charitable version of what the comic poets and Stesimbrotus said with malicious intent. The Stesimbrotean origin of the details about Pericles' domestic economy is clear from xxxvi. 3. The Anaxagoras story (§ 7) is found only here.

XVI. 1. **New Peisistratidæ**: see vii. 1 and note.

XVI. 2. **Telecleides**: see iii. 4 and note. The name of the play from which this citation comes is not known (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 220).

Stood first for forty years: Plutarch reckons roundly from the death of Aristides and the prolonged absence of Cimon from the city (vii. 2), to 429, the year of Pericles' death, rhetorically ignoring the years of Cimon's leadership, and even his own words in ix. 2–4. The actual primacy of Pericles dates from the ostracism of Thucydides in 442, and was maintained by means of successive annual elections to the office of general. In the college of ten generals he nat-

urally had controlling influence, and thus for fifteen years directed the military, naval, financial, and diplomatic affairs of the empire. His continuous reëlection emancipated him from the necessity of rendering complete accounts of his administration. He was also member of various building commissions, with an activity which Plutarch has depicted in chapters xii. and xiii.

Ephialtes: see note on vii. 6.

Leocrates: commander in the final triumph of Athens over Ægina in 456 (Thuc., i. 105, 2).

Myronides: leader of the "reserves" in the glorious victory over the Corinthians in 458, and in the following year victor over the Bœotians at Œnophyta (Thuc., i. 108, 2).

Tolmides: see on xviii. 2.

XVI. 3. **Untainted by corruption**: this is the emphatic controversial assertion of Thucydides in the passage cited at ix. 1.

XVI. 4. **His sons**: particularly Xanthippus, as appears in chapter xxxvi.

XVI. 5. **Anaxagoras**: see on iv. 4.

XVII. 1. **Introduced a bill**: Plutarch doubtless found documentary evidence for this (perhaps in Craterus), and therefore the fact of this proposal of a Pan-Hellenic conference by Pericles is not questioned, although Plutarch is our sole authority for it. But neither the time of the proposal nor the motives which actuated Pericles, as they are inferred by Plutarch, are probable. It may be conjectured that the invitations to the congress were sent out in 448, between the recognized cessation of the war with Persia in the so-called "Peace of Callias" (see note on *Cimon*, xiii. 5), and the beginning of the new Parthenon (447–446). Sparta had made a five years' truce with Athens in 450, but Pericles can hardly have expected her to coöperate in an enterprise which would have formally recognized the supremacy of a rival. His plan, however, even though it was not carried into effect, must have had a far-reaching political influence. It emphasized the claim of Athens to be a religious leader of Hellas

(as did the Eleusinian decree referred to in the note on xiii. 4), and its failure left the Athenians free to regard the building of the Parthenon at least as an imperial undertaking of religious import, to which they could apply the funds contributed by the allies for defence against the Persians. See the elaborate note in Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 445.

XVIII. To illustrate the caution of Pericles in his active campaigns as general, Plutarch is led to contrast him with Tolmides, who fell in the disastrous defeat of the Athenians by the Bœotians at Coroneia, in 447. Thucydides describes this expedition of Tolmides in i. 113, without mentioning his death. Diodorus (Ephorus) gives a much briefer account of the expedition in xii. 6, with mention of the death of Tolmides. The items which are peculiar to the account of Plutarch are (1) the over-confidence of Tolmides; (2) the volunteer character of his forces; and (3) Pericles' attempt to restrain him in the assembly, with the "memorable saying." The latter bears the same stamp of authenticity as the speeches in chapter xii., and probably comes from the contemporary witness Stesimbrotus.

XVIII. 1. **Was forever saying**: this, as well as the saying in § 2, is included among the memorable sayings cited in the note on viii. 6.

XVIII. 2. **Tolmides**: in 455 he had won great fame by an expedition round the Peloponnesus, which is thus briefly chronicled by Thucydides (i. 108, 5): "The Athenians, under the command of Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, sailed round Peloponnesus and burnt the Lacedæmonian dockyard. They also took the Corinthian town of Chalcis, and, making a descent upon Sicyon, defeated a Sicyonian force." A complete history of Tolmides, including the expeditions mentioned in xi. 5, is given by Pausanias (i. xxvii. 5), apropos of his statue on the Acropolis.

To make an incursion into Bœotia: according to Thucydides, it was "an expedition against Orchomenus, Chæroneia, and certain other places in Bœotia which were in the

hands of oligarchical exiles from different Bœotian towns, and still remained hostile to them" [the Athenians].

The rest of his forces: the "contingents of their allies" mentioned by Thucydides.

XVIII. 3. **Coroneia**: the defeat of the Athenians here cost them Bœotia, and so undid the work of Myronides at Œnophyta in 457. See the note on xvi. 2.

XIX. 1. **To the Chersonesus**: this expedition was probably made earlier in the year 447 than that of Tolmides into Bœotia just related. See on xi. 5. Plutarch is heedless of chronology. He is bent only on illustrating the qualities of Pericles as a general. He was beneficent as well as cautious in his campaigns. In walling off the peninsula, Pericles renewed the work of Miltiades the elder about the middle of the sixth century. "On his [Miltiades'] arrival at the Chersonese, he was made king by those who had invited him. After this his first act was to build a wall across the neck of the Chersonese from the city of Cardia to Pactya, to protect the country from the incursions and ravages of the Apsinthians. The breadth of the isthmus at this part is thirty-six furlongs, the whole length of the peninsula within the isthmus being four hundred and twenty furlongs" (Herod., vi. 36). The wall was renewed again by Dercyllidas in 398, whose measure of the width of the isthmus was thirty-seven furlongs (Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 2, 10). Cimon, son of Miltiades, had conquered the Chersonesus from the Persians in 466 (*Cimon*, xiv. 1).

XIX. 2. **His circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus**: it was probably in the summer of 453 that "a thousand Athenians, under the command of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, embarking on board the fleet which they had at Pegæ, now in their possession, coasted along to Sicyon, and there landing, defeated the Sicyonians who came out to meet them. With the least possible delay taking on board Achæan troops and sailing to the opposite coast, they attacked and besieged Œniadæ, a town of Acarnania; but failing to reduce it, they returned home" (Thuc., i. 111, 2).

Pegæ was the harbor of Megara on the Corinthian Gulf, which had been in the possession of Athens since 459. The expedition of Pericles was therefore no circumnavigation of Peloponnesus. He approached Sicyon from the east, by way of the Corinthian Gulf. It is clearly the comparison with Tolmides in the next paragraph which leads Plutarch into this error. Tolmides did circumnavigate Peloponnesus, and approached Sicyon from the west. See the note on xviii. 2. The account of this expedition of Pericles in Diodorus (Ephorus) is as follows: "The Athenians made Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, of noble family, general, gave him fifty triremes and a thousand hoplites, and sent him against the Peloponnesus. Accordingly he ravaged much of the Peloponnesus, then crossed into Acarnania and reduced all its cities except Œniadæ" (xi. 85). This expedition Diodorus erroneously assigns to the year 455. Finding, however, an expedition of Pericles in the Corinthian Gulf correctly assigned by another of his sources to the year 453, he draws again on Ephorus, whom he had used once in the most general way, and expands his details into a second expedition for the year 453. "At this time Pericles, the Athenian general, made a descent into the Peloponnesus and ravaged the territory of the Sicyonians. The Sicyonians sallied forth against him with all their forces, but Pericles defeated them in battle, captured many of them as they fled, and laid siege to their city. This he could not take, in spite of many assaults upon its walls, and since the Lacedæmonians sent aid to the besieged, he raised the siege of Sicyon, sailed to Acarnania, ravaged the territory of Œniadæ, and after collecting a mass of spoils, sailed away from Acarnania" (xi. 88, 1–2). As Plutarch's account of the expedition is drawn in the main from Ephorus, who simply enlarged rhetorically upon the account of Thucydides, we are enabled to control the procedure of so unreliable a compiler as Diodorus. It is clear that Ephorus exaggerated the successes, and veiled the virtual failure of Pericles at Œniadæ, in the spirit of later Athenian patriotism.

With a hundred triremes: no number is given by Thucydides, fifty by Diodorus in his first account. Even this number is undoubtedly too large. Either Plutarch or some author whom he is using departed here from Ephorus, as well as in the distance inland which Pericles ventured.

XIX. 3. **In Nemea**: a valley in the territory of Cleonæ, altogether too far south of Sicyon to be ventured by the "cautious" Pericles. The river which formed the valley flowed north, and in its lower course formed the boundary between Sicyon and Corinth. It also bore the name of Nemea, and it is probable that Plutarch's source meant this stream. The trustworthy account of Thucydides makes the battle near the sea-shore.

XIX. 4. **Œniadæ**: the great emporium of Acarnania, situated on a rocky ridge rising out of the swamps on the right bank of the river Achelous, near its mouth. It was commercially in sympathy with Corinth, had been seized by the Messenians from Naupactus in the interests of Athens, but regained by the Acarnanians. The failure of Pericles to recapture it is glossed over.

XX. 1. **Sailed into the Euxine**: for our knowledge of this Pontic expedition of Pericles we are indebted to Plutarch alone. The ultimate source of his information, as in chapter xvii., was probably the collection of Athenian decrees by Craterus, as may be inferred from the "got a bill passed" of § 2. As Plutarch mentions these various undertakings of Pericles without the slightest regard to chronological sequence, it is difficult to fix more than approximately upon the date of the expedition. It was probably after rather than before the great Samian War of 440, described in chapters xxiv.–xxviii., and not far from 436. For Lamachus, who was general with Pericles, and could therefore not have been under thirty years of age, fell before Syracuse in 414, a colleague with Nicias in the command. It is not likely that he was then over fifty-five. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. p. 585.

Sinopians: Sinope was a flourishing colony of Miletus,

advantageously situated on a lofty peninsula of the south coast of the Euxine, and of great commercial importance. It was of moment that Athens should control the large carryings of merchandise and grain from all the regions round the Pontus.

Lamachus: Thucydides states (iv. 75, 1) that he was independent commander of another Pontic expedition in 424, clearly in consequence of his experience with Pericles. In the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, brought out in 425, he is the comic representative of the blustering "Jingo." But he was made one of the three commanders of the Sicilian expedition, along with Nicias and Alcibiades, because of his practical military experience and great ability. He advocated immediate attack upon Syracuse (Thuc., vi. 49), which would in all probability have been successful. His untimely death in battle was one of many severe blows to the Athenian cause. In his *Frogs*, brought out in 405, Aristophanes pays his memory an honorable amend for the lampoons of the *Acharnians*, — "But others, many and brave, he taught, of whom was Lamachus, hero true" (verse 1039, Rogers' translation).

XX. 2. **To lay hands again upon Egypt**: in spite of the crushing defeat of the Athenian armament in Egypt in 454 (Thuc., i. 109 f.), and the failure of Cimon's auxiliary squadron in 449 to accomplish anything there (Thuc., i. 112; Plut., *Cimon*, xviii. 4), the mercantile ambitions of Athens made any project for shaking Persia's hold upon Egypt tempting. The donation of grain to Athens by the rebellious Egyptian King in 445 (see chap. xxxvii.) was probably part of a policy to secure renewed Athenian aid against Persia, and must have inflamed a popular desire already smouldering. To this desire Pericles opposed himself, convinced that Athens could no longer contend with both Persia and Sparta.

XX. 3. **Passion for Sicily**: the founding of Thurii in 444, the struggle for the possession of Megara and her two harbors, the campaigns of Tolmides and Pericles in the Corinthian Gulf, all show that the failure of Athens to secure

control of Egyptian commerce had turned the ambition of her commercial democracy toward the West, where Corinth, by virtue of her peninsular position, had already the right of way.

Alcibiades: "But the man who finally fanned this desire of theirs into flame and persuaded them not to attempt the island any more in part and little by little, but to sail there with a great armament and subdue it utterly, was Alcibiades" (Plut., *Alcibiades*, xvii. 2). See also the words put into the mouth of Alcibiades by Thucydides in vi. 17 f.

Tuscany: Italy, as distinguished from Magna Græcia, is meant. In vi. 90, Thucydides represents Alcibiades as telling the Spartans: "We sailed to Sicily hoping in the first place to conquer the Sicilian cities; then to proceed against the Hellenes of Italy; and lastly, to make an attempt on the Carthaginian dominions, and on Carthage itself. If all or most of these enterprises succeeded, we meant finally to attack Peloponnesus, bringing with us the whole Hellenic power which we had gained abroad, besides many Barbarians whom we intended to hire."

XXI. 1. **Trying to restrain**: Plutarch clearly anticipates here. It required the great disaster in Egypt of 454, and above all the loss of the land empire of Athens in 446, to fix Pericles finally in a purely defensive policy. This anticipation is seen again at the opening of the next chapter.

The Sacred War: to be distinguished from the greater "Sacred War" waged by Phocis in 356–350 B. C. The present war was so conducted as not to violate the five years' truce between Athens and Sparta made in 450, two years before the events now recorded. They are thus reported by Thucydides (i. 112): "After this [the return of the expedition to Cyprus, in which Cimon died], the Lacedæmonians engaged in the so-called Sacred War and took possession of the temple of Delphi, which they handed over to the Delphians. But no sooner had they retired than the Athenians sent an expedition and recovered the temple, which they handed over to the Phocians." In early times the Phocians had been the

possessors and administrators of the temple at Delphi, but later it had passed into the control of the priestly college of the Delphians, which was subject to Spartan influence. The Phocians had recently resumed their ancient rights over the temple, by virtue of Athenian support.

XXI. 2. **Promanteia**: "the right of consulting the oracle in behalf of others" as well as of themselves, not "the right of consulting the oracle before others," as usually rendered. See Frazer on Pausanias, x. 14, 7.

The bronze wolf: "there is an offering dedicated by the Delphians themselves near the great altar: it consists of a bronze wolf. They say that a man stole some of the god's treasures, and hid himself and the gold in the thickest part of the forest on Mount Parnassus; but that while he slept a wolf fell upon him and killed him, and then went daily to the city and howled. So, thinking that the hand of God was in it, they followed the beast; and thus they found the sacred gold, and dedicated a bronze wolf to the god" (Pausanias, x. 14, 7). The archæological material with which Plutarch enriches the meagre account of Thucydides is doubtless authentic, and may come to him through Ephorus, or through a combination of Ephorus and Philochorus (or Hellanicus) by some learned source which he is using.

XXII. 1. **Was amply proved**: his attitude was rather caused by what now came to pass. See the first note on the preceding chapter.

The Eubœans revolted: early in 446, in consequence of the collapse of Athenian power in Bœotia which followed the battle of Coroneia (chap. xviii.). There was doubtless concerted action between the oligarchs of Eubœa, Megara, and Sparta, as a result of which Athens lost her land empire in central Greece. The events are concisely narrated by Thucydides in i. 114 f., and very confusedly by Diodorus (Ephorus) in xii. 5–7. Important and authentic details of the military operations of the Athenian troops are supplied by the famous epitaph of Pythion the Megarian (CIA, ii. 1675; Hicks and Hill, *Historical Inscriptions*, 38). The

additional details supplied by Plutarch probably come ultimately from some good contemporary source like Hellanicus.

The Megarians had gone over to the enemy: Thucydides says more explicitly: "Pericles had just arrived in the island with an Athenian army when the news came that Megara had likewise revolted, that the Peloponnesians were on the point of invading Attica, and that the Megarians had slaughtered the Athenian garrison, of whom a few only had escaped to Nisæa." In 459 the Megarians had sought an Athenian alliance as a defence against their Corinthian foes. Athens had welcomed the alliance, built walls to Nisæa, and occupied Pegæ with a squadron (see chap. xix. 2 f.). The possession of Megara with her two harbors was absolutely essential to Athens if she were to compete with Corinth for western commerce. Therefore the defalcation of Megara at this time, and especially the treacherous and cruel manner of it, was a blow which Athens never forgave. The hatred caused by it was behind the famous Megarian decrees (xxix. 4; xxx. 3).

On the confines of Attica: the five years' truce made in 450 having now expired.

XXII. 2. **Pleistoanax**: son of Pausanias the hero of Platæa, who died about 472. Pleistoanax was made King in 458, and was now considerably under thirty years of age.

Corrupted him: the mediation of Cleandridas is not noted by Thucydides, nor does that historian speak of bribery in his account of the Spartan expedition. "The Peloponnesians," he says, "then invaded Attica under the command of Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian King. They advanced as far as Eleusis and Thria but no further, and after ravaging the country, returned home." But in subsequent references to the expedition and the retreat of Pleistoanax he says he "was thought to have been bribed" (ii. 21, 1; v. 16, 3), and therefore banished.

XXII. 3. **Laid a heavy fine upon their King**: fifteen talents, according to Ephorus (as cited in the scholia on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 859). But it is more probable that Pleis-

toanax, as well as Cleandridas, was summoned to stand a trial on charge of bribery, fled the country, and was condemned to death. The fugitive King betook himself for refuge to the temple of Zeus on Mount Lycæum in Arcadia, where he remained for nineteen years, until 426–425. His sensational recall to the throne at that time, so graphically described by Thucydides (v. 16), together with fresh Spartan invasions of Attica, revived all the old gossip about his acceptance of a bribe from Pericles, and made jokes upon the subject in the comedies of the time very telling. See on xxiii. 1.

Voluntary exile: he went to Magna Græcia, became a citizen of Thurii (Thuc., vi. 104, 2), and distinguished himself as a soldier (Frontinus, *Strat.*, ii. 3, 12).

Gylippus: sent by the Spartans in 414 to aid the Syracusans against the Athenians (Thuc., vi. 93, 2).

In my life of Lysander: chapter xvi. f. The story, attributed to Timæus (Introd., p. 58), is told more briefly in the *Nicias*, xxviii. 3. "Timæus says, moreover, that they [the Syracusans] denounced his exceeding penuriousness and avarice, — an ancestral infirmity, it would seem, since his father Cleandridas also was convicted of taking bribes, and had to flee his country. And the son himself, for abstracting thirty talents from the thousand which Lysander sent to Sparta, and hiding them in the roof of his house, — as an informer was prompt to show, — was banished in the deepest disgrace. But this has been told with more detail in my life of Lysander."

XXIII. 1. **Ten talents**: Ephorus (as cited in the scholia on Arist., *Clouds*, 859), puts the sum at twenty talents, an exaggeration to be expected in this writer.

"**For sundry needs**": this was probably a fiscal joke of the stern statesman, based on a well known appropriation of money to secure the withdrawal of the Spartan army in 446. It became proverbial. In the year when the *Clouds* of Aristophanes was composed (424–423), the events of so remote a year as 445 had been brought freshly to Athenian remembrance by repeated Peloponnesian invasions of Attica (Thuc., ii. 21), and above all by the spectacular and scandalous

restoration of Pleistoanax to the throne of Sparta after a disgraceful banishment of nineteen years. "He had been banished on account of his retreat from Attica, when he was supposed to have been bribed" (Thuc., v. 16, 3). The old Periclean pleasantry was therefore revived, and must have been telling, as its use in the *Clouds* (v. 859) shows. A cynical, spendthrift son asks his dishevelled, half-crazy father what has become of his shoes, and the answer is: "Like Pericles once, I laid them out 'for sundry needs.'"

Theophrastus: see Introduction, p. 56. He represents those who disbelieve in the bribery of Cleandridas and Pleistoanax by Pericles, and yet would explain the famous phrase "for sundry needs." The scholia on the verse of the *Clouds* cited just above give still another explanation of the phrase, which is adopted by Busolt and Eduard Meyer. Pericles had been called to give account of his expenditure of the public moneys, and when confronted with a large item for which he had no particular vouchers, declared in haughtiness and defiance that he had spent the moneys "for sundry needs." The traditional reference of the phrase adopted in these notes is supported by the oldest and best Aristophanic scholia.

XXIII. 2. **Fifty ships and five thousand hoplites**: the numbers are probably from Ephorus (though not found in the excerpts of Diodorus, xii. 7 and 22), and unreliable. Thucydides says (i. 114, 3): "Thereupon the Athenians under the command of Pericles again crossed over to Eubœa and reduced the whole country; the Hestiæans they ejected from their homes and appropriated their territory; the rest of the island they settled by agreement."

Hippobotæ: as early as 506 the Athenians had defeated the Chalcidians in battle, and settled four thousand needy citizens on the confiscated lands of their nobility (Herod., v. 77). At the approach of the Persians in 490, these settlers abandoned their lands and returned home (Herod., vi. 100 f.). There is no evidence of their reinstatement, and we now (446) find the Chalcidian nobles in possession of their land, which was, of course, once more confiscated.

Hestiæans: Hestiæa was a city on the northern shore of the island. Strabo (x. 1, p. 445) quotes Theopompus as saying that when Eubœa was subdued by Pericles, the Hestiæans agreed to remove to Macedonia, and two thousand Athenians came and occupied Oreus, which had been a ward of Hestiæa. The colony retained the name of Hestiæa, however, officially, but in course of time the popular designation of it as Oreus became prevalent. It figures in the intrigues of Philip of Macedon against Athens.

XXIV. 1. **After this**: "Soon after their return from Eubœa they made a truce for thirty years with the Lacedæmonians and their allies, restoring Nisæa, Pegæ, Trœzen, and Achaia, which were the places held by them in Peloponnesus. Six years later [*i. e.* in 440] the Samians and Milesians fell out about the possession of Priene, and the Milesians, who were getting worsted in the war, came to Athens and complained loudly of the Samians" (Thuc., i. 115).

In 442 Thucydides, son of Melesias, the mouthpiece of the conservative, anti-imperialistic party, had been ostracized (chap. xiv. 2), and the allies of Athens saw themselves drifting rapidly into a state of complete subjection to her. In 440 the wide-spread dissatisfaction broke out into the great rebellion known as the Samian War, which made the Athenian Empire totter towards a fall (Thuc., viii. 76, 4). As usual in great outbreaks, there were deep underlying causes and superficial occasions. The chief cause of the Samian War was Athens' increasingly haughty treatment of her allies; the immediate occasion was the feud between Samos and Miletus. Samos was an independent ally of Athens, and though she had favored the leadership of Athens, was under aristocratic or oligarchical government, and had a powerful fleet; Miletus, which had been a member of the Delian Confederacy since 479, was a democracy.

To gratify Aspasia: this charge against Pericles, namely, that he upheld the cause of Miletus against the Samians at the instigation of the Milesian Aspasia, was seriously made by Duris of Samos (Frag. 58), and probably comes down to

Plutarch from him. What Plutarch thinks of this historian's authority is seen in chapter xxviii. 3. Duris probably carried back to the Samian War a charge against Aspasia made by the comic poets Eupolis and Aristophanes in connection with the Peloponnesian War. Aspasia was the cause of this war, as Helen of the Trojan War. Eupolis called her the New Helen (in his *Prospaltii*, Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 325), and the "versicles of Aristophanes" which Plutarch cites in xxx. 4, parody the account in Herodotus (i. 1–3) of the causes of the great Persian War.

XXIV. 2. **They say**: this and the four following paragraphs skilfully blend material ultimately derived (1) from a dialogue entitled *Aspasia*, by Æschines the Socratic (§ 4, and Introd., p. 55); (2) from Plato's *Menexenus* and learned comment thereon; and (3) from the comic poets. The last paragraph of the chapter (§ 7) is clearly original with Plutarch.

The *Aspasia* of Æschines, like the *Menexenus* of Plato, presented highly idealized and pleasantly fanciful pictures of Aspasia's activities and influence, developed perhaps from sundry playful allusions to her by Socrates. They should not be taken as history. The authenticity of Plato's *Menexenus* is matter of doubt, though Jowett was inclined to uphold it.

Aspasia was a beautiful and gifted woman, who became the concubine of Pericles about 445. The relation could not be a legal one, and the children born therein were illegitimate (§ 6, and xxxvii). It is hardly to be wondered at that the low gossip of the market-place, culminating in the jibes of the comic poets and the scurrilous pamphlet of Stesimbrotus, made Aspasia a public prostitute and a keeper of such, and Pericles a man of illicit sexual excesses (chap. xiii. 10; Athenæus, xiii. 589 D). Gossip of a finer sort made Aspasia responsible for much of the public policy of Pericles, and the source of his marvellous eloquence. Damonides gave him ideas (chap. iv., 1 and 2), and Aspasia words! Such a picture of her was probably given in the *Aspasia* of Æs-

chines, corresponding to that in the *Menexenus* of Plato. Similar gossip attributed to a certain Mnesiphilus the brilliant ideas of Themistocles (Plut., *Themist.*, ii. 4).

Thargelia: meagre outlines of her story, adduced perhaps more fully in the *Aspasia* of Æschines, are to be found in Athenæus, xiii. 608 F, and Suidas, *sub voc.* She was married fourteen times. The principal scene of her exploits was Thessaly, where she exercised the power of a princess for thirty years.

XXIV. 3. **As some say**: the same general formula of reference to the dialogue of Æschines as in § 2. Another Socratic, Antisthenes, insisted that Aspasia's hold on Pericles was erotic rather than intellectual. See note on § 5.

Socrates . . . and his intimate friends, etc.: this is probably a generalization from the dialogue between Aspasia and Xenophon and his wife, which Æschines puts into the mouth of Socrates in his dialogue *Aspasia*. It was pure invention (Cicero, *de Inventione*, i. 51).

XXIV. 4. **Lysicles**: after the death of Pericles in 429, Eucrates the "tow-dealer" (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 129) assumed for a brief space the rôle of popular leader, and then Lysicles the "sheep-dealer" (*ib.*, v. 132). As the latter perished in Caria early in the winter of 428, on an expedition to collect money from the allies (Thuc., iii. 19), the fine imagination in Æschines' claim for Aspasia's influence is plain. Lysicles took Aspasia to wife because he was the leader of the people in succession to Pericles. Her influence did not make him such.

In a sportive vein: the dialogue contains a funeral oration for the Athenians who fell in the Corinthian War (395–387 B. C.) put into the mouth of Socrates (*ob.* 399), and playfully ascribed by him to Aspasia, who "made so many good speakers, and one who was the best among all the Hellenes,—Pericles the son of Xanthippus" (p. 235). "For she had been told that the Athenians were going to choose a speaker, and she repeated to me the sort of speech which he should deliver, partly improvising and partly from previous thought,

putting together fragments of the funeral oration which Pericles spoke, and, I believe, she composed."

Thus much of history: rather of delightful invention.

XXIV. 5. **However**: Plutarch here corrects this charming idealization of Aspasia in the dialogue of Æschines by the counter testimony of Antisthenes the Socratic (see on i. 5), who insisted that the bond between Pericles was amatory rather than intellectual (Athenæus, xiii. 589 E).

Near of kin: perhaps it was Deinomache, his first cousin, who had been the wife of Cleinias and mother of Alcibiades before she married Hipponicus. From him she must have been divorced to marry Pericles, since Hipponicus outlived Pericles. Pericles also divorced her, to associate himself with Aspasia.

XXIV. 6. **As they say**: this is the testimony of Antisthenes, cited above on § 5.

Omphale, Deianeira: imperious Lydian mistress, and jealous Ætolian wife, respectively, of Heracles (Pericles). These names were given her by Cratinus in his *Cheirons* (see on iii. 3), and by Eupolis (see on iii. 4) in his *Friends* (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 332). He also called her the New Helen, as cause of the Peloponnesian War (see on xxiv. 1).

Hera: as consort of the Zeus-Pericles, a name given her by Cratinus in his *Cheirons*, cited in iii. 3, with which citation the following lines are closely connected.

Eupolis in his Demes: see on iii. 4, and Kock, *op. cit.*, i. p. 282.

Myronides: see on xvi. 2.

Had been a man: *i. e.* would have been admitted to citizenship. This was Pericles the Younger (xxxvii. 5).

XXIV. 7. **Went to war with the Great King**: as described in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

Milto: so called because of her rosy complexion (Athenæus, xiii. 576 D; Ælian, *Varia Historia*, 12, 1).

In battle: at Cunaxa. "So the King and those with him fell to ravaging right and left, and amongst other spoil he

captured the Phocæan woman, who was a concubine of Cyrus, witty and beautiful, if fame speaks correctly" (Xen., *Anab.*, i. 10, 2).

These things: *i. e.* this item about the Aspasia of Cyrus.

XXV. 1. **The war against the Samians**: besides the account which now follows in Plutarch, we have an account by Thucydides (i. 115–117), and one by Ephorus as excerpted in Diodorus (xii. 27, 28). Plutarch's follows in its main outlines that of Thucydides, but is enriched with details from Ephorus, directly or indirectly. Ephorus clearly utilized some authority independent of Thucydides, but not definitely known. Possibly it was Hellanicus. Divergences in the three accounts will be carefully noted.

At the request of Aspasia: see on xxiv. 1.

Would not obey: fearing that democratic Athens would be partial to democratic Miletus. Thucydides says that citizens of Samos who wished to overthrow the oligarchical government supported the complaints of the Milesians.

Pericles set sail: so Ephorus. In Thucydides it is "the Athenians," without designation of leadership. Both Thucydides and Ephorus give the number of ships on this preliminary expedition as forty.

XXV. 2. **They say**: the source for the details in this paragraph, exalting the integrity of Pericles, cannot be determined with any certainty. Diodorus does not include them in his excerpts from Ephorus, and they are not in Thucydides. Diodorus adds (from Ephorus) that Pericles exacted a sum of eighty talents from the Samians, presumably to pay the costs of the expedition.

Pissouthnes: satrap of Lydia, with seat of government at Sardis. The account of Ephorus emphasizes his private designs upon the island of Samos.

Gold staters: a coin of about the same general value as the modern napoleon.

XXV. 3. **Once more Pericles set sail**: this time with sixty ships. "But of this number they sent away sixteen, some towards Caria to keep a lookout for the Phœnician

fleet, others to summon aid from Chios and Lesbos (Thuc., i. 116, 1).

Tragia: between Samos and Miletus. The Samian fleet was returning from Miletus, and was intercepted by the Athenians.

A brilliant victory: Thucydides, Ephorus, and Plutarch give the Athenian view. Aristotle (see xxvi. 3) ascribed the victory to the Samians, who evidently broke through the fleet of the Athenians and got safely home. It was a case where either side could claim a victory. The Samians accomplished their strategic purpose, but left the Athenians in control of the sea.

XXVI. 1. **His seizure of the harbor**: an error on Plutarch's part, as his own story shows. "After receiving a reinforcement of forty ships from Athens and of twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos, they disembarked, and having the superiority on shore, invested the city with three walls; they also blockaded it by sea" (Thuc., i. 116, 2). Plutarch has the reinforcement from Athens come after the investiture of the city, and says nothing of the aid from Chios and Lesbos. Ephorus (Diod., xii. 27, 4) mentions only the latter. Their timely presence was due to the diplomatic address of the poet Sophocles, who was general with Pericles, and was sent by him on this mission (see the citation from Thucydides in the note on xxv. 3).

As most authorities say: so Ephorus (Diod., xii. 27, 5), without mention of the number of ships taken, and so Thucydides (i. 116, 3): "At the same time Pericles took sixty ships of the blockading force and sailed hastily towards Caunus in Caria, news having arrived that a Phœnician fleet was approaching; Stesagoras and others had already gone with five ships from Samos to fetch it." Thus few more than forty ships were left to blockade the harbor of Samos, showing the greatness of the peril which Pericles believed to be threatening.

Designs on Cyprus: this would be defamation of Pericles, to which Stesimbrotus was prone (see Introd., p. 36).

XXVI. 2. **Melissus**: a native of Samos, and disciple of the great Pantheistic philosopher Parmenides, who denied the validity of all evidence of the senses. Malicious report made him a teacher of Themistocles (Plut., *Themist.*, ii. 3). There is no mention of him in Thucydides or Ephorus (Diodorus). The item probably comes from Aristotle (see next note).

XXVI. 3. **Aristotle says**: possibly in the lost *Constitution of Samos.* See the last note on xxv. 3.

Branding their prisoners: for the rest of the chapter Plutarch is probably using material derived from Duris of Samos (Introd., p. 58), on whom he comments so bitterly in xxviii. 2 f. To this he has added a learned comment on the *samæna*, probably derived ultimately from the scholia on the verse of Aristophanes cited at the close. And even the maliciously false testimony of Duris seems to be cited incorrectly. Athenians, if they did any branding of captives, would naturally brand them with the owl, the civic emblem of Athens, in token that they had become Athenian slaves. And the Samians would naturally brand their captives with the *samæna* rather than with the owl. So the matter is put in the note of Suidas on Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος.

Deep-sea traveller: reading πουτοπορεῖν with Blass and the MSS., instead of the φορτοφορεῖν of the Sintenis and Bekker texts, which was a conjecture of Coraës, and would mean "freight-carrier."

XXVI. 4. **Polycrates**: tyrant of Samos from about 530 B. C. till his death. His career forms one of the great features of the third book of Herodotus.

Verse of Aristophanes: from his *Babylonians*, not extant, brought out in 426 B. C., his second effort (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. p. 408).

Riddling reference: the riddle still awaits satisfactory solution. The various attempts may be found in the comment of Suidas referred to in the last note but one on § 3.

XXVII. 1. **Walled their city in**: according to Thucyd-

ides (i. 116, 2, cited above on xxvi. 1), this was done after the first naval victory.

XXVII. 2. **His whole force**: both Thucydides and Ephorus (Diodorus) mention additional reinforcements of sixty ships from Athens, and thirty from Chios and Lesbos. The Athenian fleet therefore now numbered about two hundred, — a most imposing imperial demonstration.

As they say: this is probably the fanciful invention of Ephorus (not contained in the excerpt of Diodorus, xii. 28, 3) to explain the current phrase "a white day." Ephorus was prone to such procedure.

XXVII. 3. **Employed siege-engines**: this paragraph also is pure invention on the part of Ephorus. He has carried back the siege methods of his own age into the age of Pericles, when the prevailing method of capturing a city was by closely investing it and starving it out. So Thucydides represents the present siege of Samos. The Samians "were closely blockaded . . . and after nine months were forced to surrender" (i. 117). Ephorus is prone to such imaginative embellishments. He has Miltiades use siege-engines at Paros in 489 B. C.

Artemon Periphoretus: an effeminate and wanton Artemon was called "notorious," *i. e. borne about* in the mouths of men, by his jealous rival Anacreon (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*, iii. p. 261). Anacreon was high in favor with the tyrant Polycrates of Samos till the latter's death about 522 B. C. The phrase "Artemon Periphoretus" became therefore a popular one for the designation of weak and worthless characters, and is so parodied by Aristophanes in his "Artemon Periponeros" (*Acharnians*, 850). A later and more literal interpretation of the epithet as "borne about" led to the invention of the realistic details of the next paragraph (§ 4), possibly by Chamælion of Pontus, an immediate disciple of Aristotle, through whom they come to Heracleides of Pontus (Introd., p. 57). The tradition is found in Athenæus, xii. 46. To account for the popular phrase "Artemon Periphoretus" in his own way, Ephorus probably invented, as he invented his

explanation of "a white day," a lame engineer, Artemon of Clazomenæ, to be a suitable correspondent on the Athenian side to Melissus the philosopher on the Samian. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 550 f. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv. pp. 64 f, accepts Artemon the lame engineer of Pericles as historical, on the sole authority of Ephorus.

XXVIII. 1. **A heavy fine**: as indemnity for the expenses of the war. "The terms of capitulation were as follows:— they were to raze their walls, give hostages, surrender their ships, and pay a full indemnity by regular instalments" (Thuc., i. 117, 3). Twelve hundred talents is the round sum given by Ephorus (Diod., xii. 28, 3, inserting χιλίων). From an inscription (CIA, i. 177) it is seen that over fourteen hundred talents were taken from the state treasury for the war. Samos now became a subject instead of an independent ally, furnishing her contingent of land troops when required, and tribute instead of ships.

Duris the Samian: see Introd., p. 58.

Aristotle: see on xxvi. 3.

XXVIII. 3. **Funeral rites**: see on viii. 6. The oration made over the dead in this Samian War is not to be confounded with the one made in 430 over the dead in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, and represented by Thucydides in ii. 35–46.

XXVIII. 4. **Elpinice**: see on x. 4 and *Cimon*, iv. 5.

XXVIII. 5. **It is said**: either by Stesimbrotus, who is cited by name in *Cimon*, iv. 4, for details of Cimon's appearance and character; or by Ion, who is immediately cited for details of Pericles' bearing.

Archilochus: of Paros, the roving soldier-poet of war, love, and wine, who flourished 714–675 B. C. He is known to us only in a few fragments, and through Horace, who admired and imitated him. This iambic trimeter has simply been adapted from the third person (ἠλείφετο) to the second (ἠλείφεο). The condition to be supplied is "had'st thou not been foolish," and the retort is a cruel personal sarcasm, like that given in the similar story from Stesimbrotus in x. 5.

"Thou and thy brother Cimon's exploits are alike ancient history."

Ion says: Plutarch uses this testimony, without mentioning its source, in his *de gloria Atheniensium*, 8 = *Morals*, 350 E.

XXVIII. 6. **Thucydides says**: in viii. 76, 4. He puts the words into the mouths of Athenian seamen at Samos in 411, during the revolution of the Four Hundred at Athens: "Samos is our own, — no weak city, but one which in the Samian War all but wrested from Athens the dominion of the sea." Of course it is the sentiment of Thucydides.

XXIX. 1. **After this**: in the summer of 433, six years after the subjection of Samos. About midway between the two events came the Pontic expedition described in chapter xx.

Aid and succor to the Corcyræans: the interference of Athens in the quarrel between Corcyra and her mother-city, Corinth, is fully described by Thucydides (i. 24–55) as the first and greatest immediate occasion of the Peloponnesian War. The westward commercial ambitions of Corinth and Athens clashed, and control of the powerful naval state of Corcyra, second only to Athens, would be the determining factor in the struggle. Athens had concluded a purely defensive alliance with Corcyra (Thuc., i. 44, 1). If either were attacked, the other was to assist. As Corinth had for two years been preparing a great expedition to punish her rebellious colony, Athens sent ten ships to support Corcyra, with strict orders not to fight the Corinthians unless they attacked the Corcyræans. After a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships had actually been sent against Corcyra by Corinth, the Athenians feared that the Corcyræans would be overwhelmed by it, and therefore sent an additional relief-squadron of twenty ships (Thuc., i. 50, 5).

XXIX. 2. **Lacedæmonius**: two other generals, Diotimus and Proteas, were associated with him, as usual (Thuc., i. 45, 2). All three names are also to be found in the inscription

recording the decree providing for the expenses of the expedition (CIA, i. 179; Hicks and Hill, 53).

In order that he might be calumniated: this is an echo of gross partisan slander, coming probably from Stesimbrotus. There is no suggestion of it in Thucydides. On the contrary, considering the purely defensive nature of the alliance between Athens and Corcyra, and the danger of precipitating a war with the Spartan confederacy, of which Corinth was an influential member, the appointment of Lacedæmonius, a man of well known Spartan sympathies, was politic in the extreme. Besides, it was not in the interest of Athens that the strife between Corinth and Corcyra should cease. "Their plan was to embroil them more and more with one another, and then, when the war came, the Corinthians and the other naval powers would be the weaker" (Thuc., i. 44, 2).

XXIX. 3. **Prone to thwart the sons of Cimon**: see *Cimon*, xvi. 1 and note. There the source of the calumny is plainly seen to be Stesimbrotus.

Other ships: the second squadron of twenty ships. It arrived just after a drawn battle between the Corinthians and Corcyræans, and strengthened the latter so much that the Corinthians returned home. "Thus the war ended to the advantage of Corcyra, and the Athenian fleet returned home" (Thuc., i. 51–55).

XXIX. 4. **Denounced the Athenians**: at a congress of the Peloponnesian allies held at Sparta in the summer of 432. Additional and more immediate ground for their displeasure was the Athenian siege of Potidæa, a Corinthian town on the Chalcidic peninsula which had become an ally of Athens and had revolted from her (Thuc., i. 58–67). This circumstance is tardily alluded to by Plutarch at the end of this paragraph. In Thucydides it is the second of the two great immediate occasions for the war.

The Megarians: The Megarians alleged, among other grounds of complaint, that they were excluded from all harbors within the Athenian dominion and from the Athenian market, contrary to the treaty" (Thuc., i. 67, 4). A decree

to this effect, passed during the winter of 433–2, meant the extinction of Megara as a commercial power. Great as was the punishment, the provocation had been greater (see xxii. 1 and note).

The Æginetans also: "The Æginetans did not venture to send envoys openly, but secretly they acted with the Corinthians, and were among the chief instigators of the war, declaring that they had been robbed of the independence which the treaty guaranteed them" (Thuc., i. 67, 2). The treaty to which both Megarians and Æginetans appealed was that of the thirty years' peace (see xxiv. 1 and note). We have not the text of this document, but it is highly probable that Athens observed it technically, — in the letter, but not in the spirit. Thucydides has Pericles propose these words as an answer to the Spartan ultimatum: "That we will not exclude the Megarians from our markets and harbors, if the Lacedæmonians will not exclude foreigners, whether ourselves or our allies, from Sparta; for the treaty no more forbids the one than the other" (i. 144, 2).

XXIX. 5. **Embassies to Athens**: Thucydides mentions three (i. 126, 139). The first desired the Athenians to drive out "the curse of the goddess," meaning the descendants of Megacles (see on xxxiii. 1), or the Alcmæonidæ in general and Pericles in particular; the second demanded that the Athenians raise the siege of Potidæa, restore Ægina to independence, and above all, rescind the Megarian decree; the third threatened war unless the Athenians should "restore independence to the Hellenes." Of these, the second represented the triumph of the peace party at Sparta, and provided a possible compromise. The third was an angry ultimatum, provoked by the Athenian rejection of the offered compromise.

Archidamus: see on viii. 4. He was a guest-friend of Pericles (xxxiii. 2).

Soften their anger: at the close of the speeches before the congress of Peloponnesian allies at Sparta, the Spartans withdrew for deliberation. The majority were for war with Athens at once. "But Archidamus their King, who

was held to be both an able and a prudent man," spoke against this. The purport of the speech put into his mouth by Thucydides (i. 80–85) is that, considering the uncertainties of war, the Peloponnesian confederacy was not prepared to go to war with such an enemy as Athens, and therefore efforts for an honorable settlement of their differences by arbitration, as the treaty provided, should first be made. Archidamus was followed by the Ephor Sthenelaidas, in hostile vein, and the Spartan assembly voted that the treaty had been broken by Athens. A general assembly of all the allies was then summoned, to deliberate on the question of war (Thuc., i. 87). Later in the summer (of 432) this assembly voted to go to war with Athens. "But, although they had come to this decision, they were not ready, and could not take up arms at once; so they determined to make the necessary preparations, each for themselves, with the least possible delay. Still, nearly a whole year was passed in preparation before they invaded Attica and commenced actual hostilities. During this year they sent embassies to Athens," as indicated in the note on xxix. 5 (Thuc., i. 125 f.).

XXX. 1. **They say**: the source of the anecdote is not surely known, although it is probably from Ion or Stesimbrotus, and is an authentic addition to the outline of the discussions of the Spartan proposals at Athens as given in Thucydides (i. 139).

XXX. 2. **Some private grudge**: so the lower political gossip accounted for the unwillingness of Pericles to have the Megarian decree rescinded, and towards this view Plutarch leans. The lowest form of such gossip is seen in the Aristophanic smut with which the chapter closes. A writer of the Macedonian era, Clearchus of Soli, in his *Erotica* (Athenæus, 589 d), follows the Megarians in ascribing the Peloponnesian War to the influence of Aspasia. So low Plutarch cannot sink, but he cannot lift himself to the level of Thucydides, because he is under the influence of the malevolent stories of Ion and Stesimbrotus. Thucydides

makes Pericles say in justification of his position: "The treaty says that when differences arise, the two parties shall refer them to arbitration. . . . But for arbitration they never ask, and when it is offered by us, they refuse it. . . . I would have none of you imagine that he will be fighting for a small matter if we refuse to annul the Megarian decree . . . you are not really going to war for a trifle. For in the seeming trifle is involved the trial and confirmation of your whole purpose. If you yield to them in a small matter, they will think that you are afraid, and will immediately dictate some more oppressive condition. . . . Any claim, the smallest as well as the greatest, imposed on a neighbor and an equal when there has been no legal award, can mean nothing but slavery" (i. 140 f.). To this nobler view of Thucydides Plutarch alludes in xxxi. 1, but not to support it. It is probable that the party which Pericles led was carried into this position by the rivalry of Athens with Corinth in securing the commerce of the West, and by the hatred felt on account of Megarian treachery in 446. For once, at least, Pericles may have been led by his party instead of leading it. But he was undoubtedly influenced by his conviction that war with Sparta was inevitable sometime.

The sacred territory of Eleusis: "But the Athenians would not listen to them, nor rescind the decree; alleging in reply that the Megarians had tilled the holy ground and the neutral borderland, and had received their runaway slaves" (Thuc., i. 139, 2).

A decree: here, as in the next paragraph, Plutarch probably draws ultimately from Craterus (Introd., p. 42).

XXX. 3. **Invade the Megarid twice each year**: Thucydides speaks of such annual invasions (ii. 31, 1; iv. 66, 1), without, however, alluding to any special decree therefor, or to any special provocation like the death of Anthemocritus the herald. The herald probably died on the embassy, and the Athenians leaped to the conclusion that he had been murdered.

At the Thriasian gate: "On the road from Athens to

Eleusis, which the Athenians call the Sacred Way, there is the tomb of Anthemocritus. He was the victim of a most foul crime perpetrated by the Megarians; for when he came as a herald to forbid them to encroach on the sacred land, they slew him" (Pausanias, i. 36, 3). Thria, from which the Dipylum had its old name of the Thriasian gate, was a deme between Athens and Eleusis.

XXX. 4. **Versicles of the Acharnians**: vv. 524 ff. The *Acharnians* was brought out in 425, the sixth year of the war. "Its object is essentially a political one, which was to expose the folly and injustice of the war-party as represented by Cleon, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, who was just then coming into notice, and even by Pericles, as the author of the Megarian decree, by which the Doric neighbors of Athens had been excluded from the market." The chorus was composed of men of Acharnæ, a deme which suffered greatly in the first invasion of the Peloponnesians. See on xxxiii. 3 and xxiv. 1, *fin.*

XXXI. 1. **Some say**: Thucydides, as cited above on xxx. 2. The opposing view, which did not descend to base slander, was probably that of the reputable conservatives. After the war was actually raging, and Athens was suffering from two Peloponnesian invasions and the plague, Thucydides does put into the mouth of Pericles words of disdain, but it is in order to hearten his countrymen under their troubles: "Meet your enemies therefore not only with spirit but with disdain. Any coward or fortunate fool may brag and vaunt, but he only is capable of disdain whose conviction that he is stronger than his enemy rests, like ours, on grounds of reason" (ii. 62, 4).

XXXI. 2. **The most vouchers**: beginning with Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605 ff.: "Pheidias first began the mischief by getting into a scrape. Then Pericles, who was afraid that he would share his friend's fate, before he had come to grief himself, set the city all ablaze with his own hands, by casting in a little spark of a Megarian decree, and blew up so great a war that all Hellenes, far and near, shed tears because

of the smoke." The *Peace* was given in 421. Neither its laughable charge against Pericles, confessedly an invention of the poet, nor that of the *Acharnians* (see on xxx. 4), was meant to be taken seriously, but the former was adopted by later historians, and is to be found in the excerpts from Ephorus in Diodorus (xii. 39). This was known to Plutarch, as is clear from what he says in his *de Herodoti malignitate*, 6 = *Morals*, 855 F, wherein he sits in judgment on himself in some measure: "Moreover, in things confessed to have been done, but for doing which the cause or intention is unknown, he who casts his conjectures on the worst side is partial and malicious. Thus do the comedians, who affirm the Peloponnesian War to have been kindled by Pericles for the love of Aspasia or the sake of Pheidias, and not through any desire of honor, or ambition of pulling down the Peloponnesian pride and giving place in nothing to the Lacedæmonians."

As I have said: in xiii. 9.

Friendship of Pericles: see on xiii. 4.

To test the people: unable to rob Pericles of his influence with the people, his enemies attacked him indirectly through his agents and friends, — Pheidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras. Pheidias stood for the Periclean policy of beautifying the city at the expense of the imperial treasury. The chronology of his prosecution and death is beset with difficulties. "It is an indisputable fact that at some time after the completion of the Parthenos, in consequence of the testimony of one Menon, an assistant, Pheidias was prosecuted and found guilty, since the informer against him was rewarded with immunity from taxation by a popular decree introduced by one Glycon. From the conflicting testimonies regarding the trial and death of the great artist it may with most probability be concluded that in the year 438–7, after the completion of the Parthenos, he was invited by the Eleians to make a similar statue of Zeus, and went to Olympia for this purpose. After the completion of this statue in 433–2, he returned to Athens. Soon after Menon brought his charge against him of fraudulent accounting for ivory used in the Parthenos statue. Pheidias

was thrown into prison, and died there, possibly before the verdict was actually pronounced against him" (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 461 ff.). The facts are embellished by Plutarch or his source with impossible but attractive details.

Immunity from punishment: as guilty of embezzlement with Pheidias.

XXXI. 3. **Formal prosecution**: Plutarch's legal term is inexact. Menon gave information (*μήνυσις*) to the Assembly, which led to the imprisonment of Pheidias until his trial before a court could be held.

The gold of the statue: the charge of Menon probably regarded the ivory of the statue rather than the gold. But the statement put into the mouth of Pericles by Thucydides (ii. 13, 5) that the gold with which the image of the goddess was overlaid, and which weighed forty talents, was all removable, afforded so much better material for a striking (though false) story of the confutation of the accuser, that gold was substituted for ivory. As a matter of fact, the accuser was not confuted, but publicly rewarded (§ 5).

XXXI. 4. **The battle of the Amazons**: the victory of the Athenians under Theseus over the invading Amazons was a favorite subject for Attic art, and was taken as a prototype of their later victory over the invading Persians.

These likenesses of Pheidias and Pericles may be seen in copies of the shield still extant, especially the "Strangford shield" (Bernouilli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, i. p. 117; Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 453). There is not sufficient ground for questioning their authenticity, or declaring them made to match this story of Plutarch's. But they cannot have formed part of any hostile accusation like Menon's, because they were visible to all alike. Nor can they have seemed impious to the Athenians, since they were never removed or altered. In the interests therefore of the story here told by Plutarch the legend arose (Cicero, *Or.*, 234; Val. Max., viii. 14, 6) that Pheidias so contrived his work that had his portrait been removed, the whole statue would have fallen to pieces.

A desire to conceal the resemblance: this is, of course, pure imagination.

XXXI. 5. **Was led away to prison**: not, as Plutarch would imply, because of impiety in introducing portraits of himself and Pericles into the "battle of the Amazons," but on Menon's charge of embezzlement, to await trial by a competent court of justice. In prison Pheidias died; whether before or after the unfavorable verdict, cannot be known. But that the verdict was unfavorable is clear from the fact that the informer was rewarded and not punished. The decree granting the reward was probably in the collection of Craterus (Introd., p. 42).

XXXII. 1. **About this time**: probably 433–432.

Aspasia: see on xxiv. 2.

Hermippus: see on xxxiii. 6. His prosecution of Aspasia on a charge of impiety, like that of Anaxagoras, was probably brought after the bill of Diopeithes had prepared the way for it.

Diopeithes: a superstitious and fanatical opponent of all novelties in belief, and as such a butt of the comic poets.

XXXII. 2. **While they were in this mood**: Plutarch's chronology is all at sea here. The trial of Pericles came during the second year of the war, 430–429, after the first ravages of the great plague. First, Pericles was deposed from his office of general by vote of the Assembly. Then Dracontides moved that he submit the formal accounts of his long term as general to the Prytanes, or committee of the Council, and be remanded by them, in case of an unfavorable decision, to the popular courts for a specially formal and solemn trial on the Acropolis. Hagnon, a political friend and colleague of Pericles, moved an amendment submitting the case to a court of specially large number for decision in the ordinary manner. This was carried, the trial was held, Pericles was found guilty of misuse of the public funds, and was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents (see xxxv. 4). Plutarch has unaccountably brought the authentic details of this process into premature connection with the trial of Aspasia.

XXXII. 3. **He begged off**: as legal representative of Aspasia, Pericles must have conducted her defence.

As Æschines says: see on xxiv. 2. According to Antisthenes the Socratic (cited by Athenæus, xiii. p. 589 e), Pericles shed more tears when he was pleading the cause of Aspasia than at his own trial, when life and property were at stake. But Athenæus has probably confounded Antisthenes and Æschines.

Sent him away: this is one of the many forms which the story takes. Anaxagoras was then condemned to death *in absentia*. But other testimony makes it more probable that Anaxagoras was thrown into prison pending trial (*cf.* Plutarch's *Nicias*, xxiii. 3), and escaped condemnation to death owing to Pericles' defence of him, receiving instead a sentence to fine and banishment. It is certain that he left Athens and lived in Lampsacus till his death in 428–7. See on iv. 4. There is reputable testimony that his prosecutor was Thucydides, son of Melesias, now returned from his ten years' banishment (see on xiv. 2). Euripides is thought to refer to the banishment of Anaxagoras in his *Medea*, vv. 296–301.

Feared the jury . . . and so kindled . . . war: how perverted the charge is, may be seen from the note on § 2. Malicious invention played fast and loose with the personal motives of Pericles for urging the Athenians not to rescind the Megarian decree. See on xxx. 2.

The truth is not clear: Plutarch cannot bring himself to adopt, as he does in the case of Themistocles, the magnanimous verdict of Thucydides.

XXXIII. 1. **To drive out "the pollution"**: *i. e.* expel the blood-guilty. See on xxix. 5. Megacles, an ancestor of Pericles, had brought the curse of blood-guiltiness upon the family of the Alcmæonidæ by his part in the slaughter of the followers of Cylon. The celebrated story is told in full by Herodotus (v. 71 f.), and, with controversial corrections, by Thucydides (i. 126).

As Thucydides says: "The Lacedæmonians desired the

Athenians to drive away this curse, as if the honor of the gods were their first object, but in reality because they knew that the curse attached to Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, by his mother's side, and they thought that if he were banished they would find the Athenians more manageable" (i. 127, 1). This demand of the Lacedæmonians was calculated to play into the hands of the enemies of Pericles at Athens, who, in the prosecutions of Pheidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras, had tried to involve Pericles also in a suspicion of impiety. It was neatly met by the counter-demand that the Lacedæmonians purge away certain curses (Thuc., i. 128).

XXXIII. 2. **Would make over to the city his lands**: Pericles "openly declared in the assembly that Archidamus was his friend, but not to the injury of the state, and that supposing the enemy did not destroy his lands and buildings like the rest, he would make a present of them to the public; and he desired that the Athenians would have no suspicion of him on that account" (Thuc., ii. 13, 1).

XXXIII. 3. **Acharnæ**: a large and flourishing deme of Attica about seven miles northwest of Athens. "The situation appeared to be convenient, and the Acharnians, being a considerable section of the city and furnishing three thousand hoplites, were likely to be impatient at the destruction of their property, and would communicate to the whole people a desire to fight" (Thuc., ii. 20, 4). The Acharnians were cooped up within the walls of Athens, in common with all the rural population of Attica. The invasion was made in the early summer of 431.

XXXIII. 4. **Sixty thousand . . . hoplites**: Thucydides gives no definite number. He says a levy of two-thirds of the forces of each ally was made (ii. 10, 2), and has Archidamus say that it was the largest army ever raised in Peloponnesus (ii. 11, 1). He also notices that the Bœotians contributed "their contingent of two-thirds, including their cavalry" (ii. 12, 5). Sixty thousand probably included all the troops of every description, light-armed men and camp

servants. Twenty-three thousand would probably cover the number of hoplites, or heavy-armed men.

By saying: one of the few "memorable sayings" preserved. See on viii. 6.

XXXIII. 5. **Would not call the people together**: "But he, seeing that they were overcome by the irritation of the moment and inclined to evil counsels, and confident that he was right in refusing to go out, would not summon an assembly or meeting of any kind, lest, coming together more in anger than in prudence, they might take some false step" (Thuc., ii. 22, 1). In this Pericles was only exercising his constitutional rights as president of the board of generals.

Like the helmsman of a ship: Plutarch's simile enlarges on the simple sentence of Thucydides which follows the citation just made: "He maintained a strict watch over the city, and sought to calm the irritation as far as he could."

XXXIII. 6. **Railing at his generalship**: "The excitement in the city was universal; the people were furious with Pericles, and, forgetting all his previous warnings, they abused him for not leading them to battle, as their general should, and laid all their miseries to his charge" (Thuc., ii. 21, 3).

Cleon: the popular leader after Lysicles (xxiv. 4), and like him a merchant, and representative of the mercantile class which had come to form the majority of the democracy. Thucydides does not mention him till much later (427), but then he "exercised by far the greatest influence over the people" (iii. 36, 6), and must have been active much earlier.

Hermippus: a comic poet contemporary with, though somewhat older than, Aristophanes (Introd., p. 53), the same who prosecuted Aspasia (xxxii. 1). The verses are from his *Moiræ*, or *Fates* (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. pp. 236 f.), which was brought out soon after the first invasion of Attica. Two verses before the last are hopelessly corrupt. Perhaps their general sense is: "At the sound of the sharpening of the smallest weapon thy teeth chatter with fear."

King of the Satyrs: *i. e.* lustful coward and braggart. But there may be a more definite reference to the mocking travesty of Pericles in the Dionysus and his troop of Satyrs of the mythological comedy of Cratinus entitled *Dionysalexandros*. A fragmentary summary of this comedy published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Vol. IV., leads Maurice Croiset (*Revue des Études Grecques*, xvii. (1904), p. 310) to the conclusion that it was brought out at the Lenæan festival of 430, and the *Moiræ* of Hermippus at the City Dionysia, a month later.

Teles: otherwise unknown, but apparently some notorious coward.

XXXIV. 1. **Sending out an armament**: the ships carried a thousand hoplites and four hundred archers, and were assisted by the Corcyræans with fifty ships. They did considerable damage along the Peloponnesian coasts (§ 2) and in Acarnania, and captured the island of Cephallenia, but seem to have had no influence on the Peloponnesian army in Attica, which remained there "as long as their provisions lasted, and then, taking a new route, retired through Bœotia" (Thuc., ii. 23–30).

Drove out the Æginetans: the Lacedæmonians gave some of the exiles a home in Thyrea, on the borders of Argolis and Laconia, others scattered over Hellas. Their relations to Athens were like those of the exiled Messenians to Sparta. The wretched remnant at Thyrea was slaughtered by the Athenians in 424 (Thuc., iv. 57), "in satisfaction of their long-standing hatred." The scattered exiles were restored to their island by Lysander, after the battle of Aigos Potamoi, in 404, but the glory of the once powerful maritime state was forever gone.

XXXIV. 2. **Invaded the Megarid**: see on xxx. 3. The invasion was made with "the largest army which the Athenians ever had in one place," — thirteen thousand hoplites and a large number of light-armed troops. "After ravaging the greater part of the country they retired. They repeated the invasion, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with the

whole Athenian army, every year during the war until Nisæa was taken" (in 424, Thuc., ii. 31).

As Pericles prophesied: "For he had told the Athenians that if they would be patient and would attend to their navy, and not seek to enlarge their dominion while the war was going on, nor imperil the existence of the city, they would be victorious" (Thuc., ii. 65, 6).

XXXIV. 3. **A pestilential destruction**: Thucydides describes the origin, nature, and ravages of the great plague in the famous chapters ii. 47–54. He was himself attacked by the disease, and from the consequences of it Pericles may have died.

XXXIV. 4. **Huddled together**: "Only a few of them had houses, or could find homes among friends and kindred. The majority took up their abode in the vacant spaces of the city, and in the temples and shrines of heroes. . . . Many also established themselves in the turrets of the walls, or in any other place which they could find; for the city could not contain them when they first came in." "Having no houses of their own, but inhabiting in the height of summer stifling huts, the mortality among them was dreadful, and they perished in wild disorder" (Thuc., ii. 17 and 52).

Fill one another full of destruction: "Appalling too was the rapidity with which men caught the infection; dying like sheep if they attended on one another; and this was the principal cause of mortality" (Thuc., ii. 51, 4). The plague raged, with brief intermissions, for three years. "To the power of Athens certainly nothing was more ruinous; not less than four thousand four hundred Athenian hoplites who were on the roll died, and also three hundred horsemen, and an incalculable number of the common people" (Thuc., iii. 87).

XXXV. 1. **Manned a hundred and fifty ships**: in the summer of 430 the Peloponnesian army invaded Attica for the second time. While they were yet in the plain about Athens, Pericles "had begun to equip an expedition of a hundred ships against Peloponnesus. When all was ready

he put to sea, having on board four thousand Athenian hoplites, and three hundred cavalry conveyed in horse transports which the Athenians then constructed for the first time out of their old ships. The Chians and Lesbians joined them with fifty vessels" (Thuc., ii. 56, 1–2).

The sun was eclipsed: Thucydides notices this eclipse in ii. 28. It occurred just after the expatriation of the Æginetans in the summer of 431, while the naval expedition described in the previous chapter was in the vicinity of Acarnania. Plutarch uncritically associates the eclipse with the expedition of 430, and with Pericles as its commander, a form which the anecdote perhaps demanded which was "told in the schools of philosophy." As the story is told in Valerius Maximus (viii. 11, Ext. 1), when the whole city of Athens was panic-stricken at an eclipse of the sun, Pericles "processit in medium et quæ a præceptore suo Anaxagora pertinentia ad solis et lunæ cursum acceperat diseruit, nec ulterius trepidare cives suos vano metu passus est."

XXXV. 3. **Accomplished nothing, etc.**: "Arriving at Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, the Athenians devastated most of the country and attacked the city, which at one time they were in hopes of taking, but did not quite succeed. Setting sail again, they ravaged the territory of Trœzen, Halieis, and Hermione, which are all places on the coast of Peloponnesus. Again putting off, they came to Prasiæ, a small town on the coast of Laconia, ravaged the country, and took and destroyed the place. They then returned home and found that the Peloponnesians had also returned and were no longer in Attica" (Thuc., ii. 56). The raid of the Athenians upon the coasts of Peloponnesus does not seem to have hastened the departure of the Peloponnesian army from Attica. "The whole country was ravaged by them, and they remained about forty days, which was the longest stay they ever made" (Thuc., ii. 57).

Because of the plague: this may not have been the sole or even the main cause of the failure to take Epidaurus, but must have contributed to the failure. Thucydides says, in

the chapter just cited, that "all the time during which the armament of the Athenians continued at sea the plague was raging both among the troops and in the city." The city of Epidaurus was famous for its cult of Asclepius.

Tried to appease and encourage them: "Being still general, he called an assembly, wanting to encourage them and to convert their angry feelings into a gentler and more hopeful mood. At this assembly he came forward and spoke as follows," — then follow the last words which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles (ii. 60–64): their anger at him was unmanly; misfortune should not so change them; they were still superior to their enemies; nothing had happened except the plague which all had not anticipated when war was agreed upon by all; they must preserve the spirit which had made Athens great, and would make her, even though she "abate somewhat of her greatness," glorious for all time.

XXXV. 4. **Punished him with a fine**: "The popular indignation was not pacified until they had fined Pericles; but soon afterwards, with the usual fickleness of the multitude, they elected him general and committed all their affairs to his charge" (Thuc., i. 65, 3 f.). For the manner of the conviction, see on xxxii. 2. It was in the autumn of 430 that Pericles was deposed and fined, and in the spring of 429 that he was reinstated. The sentence was purely political in its bearing, the work of an excited populace as represented by a large popular court of fifteen hundred jurors.

Fifteen . . . fifty talents: probably no documentary evidence of the amount survived. The eighty talents of Ephorus (Diod., xii. 45, 4) must be the result of a textual error. Whatever the amount of the fine (and fifty talents is the most likely sum), it was the penalty proposed by the defendant and accepted by the court in place of the penalty of death mentioned in the prosecution (see the citation from Plato below). As to the public prosecutor, documentary evidence seems to fail. Probably several prosecutors were named by the Prytanes, none of them men of note.

Cleon: see on xxxiii. 6.

Idomeneus: *cf.* x. 6 and note.

Theophrastus: *cf.* xxiii. 1 and note.

Heracleides Ponticus: *cf.* xxvii. 3 and note.

Plato's Socrates playfully alludes to the trial of Pericles thus (*Gorgias*, p. 515 f.): "At first Pericles was glorious and his character unimpeached by any verdict of the Athenians — this was during the time when they were not so good — yet afterwards, when they had been made good and gentle by him, at the very end of his life they convicted him of theft, and almost put him to death, clearly under the notion that he was a malefactor."

XXXVI. 1. **His domestic affairs**: the details of the first three paragraphs of this chapter doubtless come ultimately from Stesimbrotus (who is cited by name in § 3), and are highly seasoned with malice. The testimony in the last two paragraphs to the self-control of Pericles under the blows of adversity probably comes from the very Protagoras mentioned in § 3. In his *Consolation to Apollonius*, 33 = *Morals*, 118 E, Plutarch enumerates conspicuous examples of men who have borne the deaths of their sons "generously and with a great spirit." "And of Pericles . . . when he heard that both his sons were dead, Paralus and Xanthippus, how he behaved himself upon this accident Protagoras tells us in these words: 'When his sons,' saith he, 'being in the first verdure of their youth and handsome lads, died within eight days, he bore the calamity without any repining.'"

Was much displeased: see xvi. 4 and note.

XXXVI. 3. **Protagoras**: of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a "sophist" and to teach for pay, an occupation in which he acquired great wealth. The excitement caused by his second visit to Athens, bringing in his train many disciples won in other Greek cities, is playfully described in Plato's *Protagoras*, pp. 309–315. Xanthippus and Paralus are there represented as walking on either side of the great sophist in the portico of the house of Callias.

"In the strictest sense": a technical phrase of Protago-

ras and the sophists. So Euripides is made to pray (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 894) that he may confute his adversary "with scientific strictness."

Concerning his own wife: see xiii. 11 and note.

XXXVI. 5. **In all his life before**: unless, possibly, at the trial of Aspasia. This momentary loss of composure by Pericles is not necessarily incompatible with the testimony of Protagoras (cited above on § 1).

XXXVII. 1. **It yearned for Pericles**: "Their private sorrows were beginning to be less acutely felt, and for a time of public need they thought that there was no man like him" (Thuc., ii. 65, 4).

Alcibiades: near kinsman and ward of Pericles, and already in training to become his successor in the affections of the Athenian people.

XXXVII. 2. **Elected general**: see on xxxv. 4.

XXXVII. 3. **Many years before this**: in 451–450. As imperial rights and privileges made Athenian citizenship more attractive and precious, the democracy became more reluctant to increase the number of citizens. An old Solonian law made children whose parents were not both genuine Athenians, bastards. But such children, during the times when the duties of citizenship were greater than its privileges, had been somewhat freely taken into the citizen body. Themistocles and Cimon were born of alien mothers, and yet were full citizens. The law of Pericles, now that the privileges of citizenship were greater than its duties, renewed the old Solonian exclusiveness, to the great and lasting detriment of the Athenian democracy. But Pericles undoubtedly catered to popular desire in the measure. The malicious source from whom Plutarch now draws (probably Stesimbrotus) represents Pericles as caught in the meshes of his own demagogic policy.

As I have said: in xxiv. 5. It is implied also in xxxvi. 1.

Sent a present to the people: see xx. 2 and note.

Who had . . . been overlooked: reading with Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe, *διαλανθάνουσι, παρορωμένοις*. The usual

text would give the meaning: "prosecutions which up to that time had escaped notice and been overlooked."

XXXVII. 4. **As a result**: the cunning gift of the Egyptian King was all the more welcome because in that year (445) Attica was suffering from a poor harvest, and there was naturally great eagerness, especially on the part of the poorer citizens, to avail themselves of the royal bounty. Probably a strict investigation of the status of all applicants was instituted, accompanied by prosecutions for illegal application. The number of persons convicted and therefore declared to be the property of the state is unknown. But the statement that 14,240 citizens received their portion of the grain rests on the good authority of Philochorus (Introd., p. 39), as cited at length in the scholia on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 718, and ultimately Plutarch's source here. The number of citizens in 431 was over 35,000, and must have been far more than 20,000 in 445.

Fourteen thousand and forty: a careless or erroneous reproduction of the figures of Philochorus, wherein two hundred has been omitted. Philochorus probably had documentary evidence that 14,240 citizens applied for their portion of the grain. He then probably ascribed the reduced number of citizens in his own time (20,000) to the time of the distribution of grain described, assumed that as many as 19,000 of these would apply for their portion, and, subtracting 14,240 from 19,000, gave 4,760, the resultant number, as the number of applicants rejected. This is Plutarch's "a little less than five thousand." That so many rejected applicants were sold into slavery is incredible. It is probable too that the applicants were largely Thetes, or citizens of the lowest class. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. 502 f.

XXXVII. 5. **Was put to death**: in 406. All the eight generals who took part in the battle were condemned, and six of them actually put to death, on the charge of having neglected the dying and dead after the battle. Xenophon tells the story in his *Hellenica*, i. 6, 28 ff.

XXXVIII. This chapter presents two stock anecdotes

about Pericles, the first cited from Theophrastus, the second taken from some source unknown. Neither has much claim on our belief. The sickness of Pericles was certainly not a form, though it may have been a consequence of the plague. He died two years and six months after the war began (Thuc., ii. 65, 5), in the autumn of 429.

XXXVIII. 2. **Theophrastus**: see Introd., p. 56.

Such folly as that: contrasting with the opinions described in vi. 1.

XXXVIII. 4. **No living Athenian, etc.**: this would certainly imply that he had done what in him lay to avoid and avert war. And Plutarch seems to interpret it, in the next sentence, as an assertion that no base personal motive had induced him to favor war. Contrast the tone at the close of chapter xxxii.

XXXIX. This chapter is entirely and characteristically Plutarch's own.

XXXIX. 2. **Pure and undefiled**: at the very last Plutarch emancipates himself from the influence of Stesimbrotus and the comic poets, and rises to the Thucydidean attitude.

Capable only of good: "Let this then be one of the rules of recitation and invention, — that God is not the author of evil, but of good only" (Plato, *Republic*, 380 A), at the close of a discussion by which Plutarch is clearly influenced in his tirade against the poets which now follows.

XXXIX. 3. "**A secure abode," etc.**: "to Olympus, where they say the dwelling of the gods stands fast forever. Never with winds is it disturbed, nor by the rain made wet, nor does the snow come near; but everywhere the upper air spreads cloudless, and a bright radiance plays over all; and there the blessed gods are happy all their days" (Odyssey, vi. 42 ff., Palmer's translation).

Matter for discussion elsewhere: there is a similar phrase of good-natured self-repression at the close of chapter vi. Plutarch's heart is in these ethical "improvements" rather than in history.

XXXIX. 4. **Keen sense of his loss**: "During the peace

while he was at the head of affairs he ruled with prudence; under his guidance Athens was safe, and reached the height of her greatness in his time. When the war began he showed that here too he had formed a true estimate of the Athenian power. He survived the commencement of hostilities two years and six months; and, after his death, his foresight was even better appreciated than during his life. . . . But his successors were more on an equality with one another, and, each one struggling to be first himself, they were ready to sacrifice the whole conduct of affairs to the whims of the people" (Thuc., ii. 65, 5–10).

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